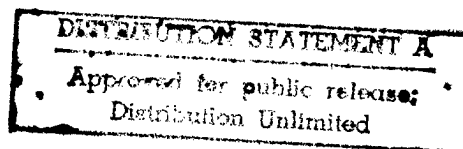


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# ***JPRS Report***



# **China**

## ***QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]***

***No 16, 16 August 1989***

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# China

## QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]

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### CONTENTS

4 OCTOBER 1989

[This report is a translation of the table of contents and selected articles from QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH], a semimonthly theoretical journal published by the CPC Party School in Beijing. Notations in the table of contents indicate articles previously published or not translated.]

#### QIUSHI No 16, 16 August 1989

It Is Necessary To Integrate Marxism-Leninism With China's Reality (17 November 1956) [Deng Xiaoping; published in FBIS-CHI-89-157] .....	1
Higher Education Must Adhere to the Socialist Orientation—A Speech Delivered to the National Work Conference of Institutes of Higher Education on 15 July 1989 [Li Tieying] .....	1
Some Thoughts on Ideological and Political Education for University Students After the Quelling of the Rebellion [Luo Xiangmin] .....	5
What Kind of 'Democracy' Do an Extremely Small Number of People Want? [Li Jian] .....	10
Only the Socialist System Can Develop China [Li Chengrui] .....	17
To Strengthen Leadership, Continuously Carry On the Struggle To Punish the Corrupt and Prevent Corruption in a Thoroughgoing Way [Xing Chongzhi] .....	24
How To Readjust the Present Structure of Industry [Zhang Zhou] .....	29
Comments on the 'Theory on Tendency of Convergence' of the Two Systems [Yan Man] .....	32
Establish Enterprise Culture With Chinese Characteristics—Enlightenment Gained From the Shanxi Yuanping No 2 Chemical Works [Luo Lianshuang; not translated] .....	36
New Achievements in Films With Themes of Revolutionary History—After Watching the Films Lofty Kunlun Mountain, Bose Uprising, and Founding Ceremony of the Republic [Li Wenbin; not translated] .....	36
Hesitation of 'Private Letter-Writers' [Ren Quanliang; not translated] .....	36

**It Is Necessary To Integrate Marxism-Leninism  
With China's Reality (17 November 1956)**

00000000 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 89 pp 2-3

[Article by Deng Xiaoping; published in FBIS-  
CHI-89-157]

**Higher Education Must Adhere to the Socialist  
Orientation—A Speech Delivered to the National  
Work Conference of Institutes of Higher  
Education on 15 July 1989**

HK1809104089 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 89 pp 4-8

[Article by Li Tiejing 2621 6993 2503]

[Text] Comrades:

This higher education work conference is an important conference for studying and implementing the spirit of the 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee. In accordance with the spirit of the major speeches of Comrade Deng Xiaoping and directives by the CPC Standing Committee on current higher education work, this conference has put forward a series of ideas on practical work. The core of these is, on the basis of studying and implementing the spirit of the 4th Plenary Session, to have the broad masses of higher education teachers, students, and staff and workers closely unify with the party Central Committee, and to jointly struggle to achieve a complete victory in curbing the turmoil and quelling the counterrevolutionary rebellion, and to do well in implementing socialist higher education with Chinese characteristics.

In this serious struggle, which will mean life or death for the party and the state, the party organizations and broad masses of cadres and teachers in higher education institutes have been subject to rigorous political tests. In this struggle, the vast majority of party committees and leading cadres of the institutes have remained firm and have been able to pass the tests. In extremely complex and difficult situations, they took a clear-cut stand in opposing the turmoil and in leading the broad masses of cadres and teachers in doing a large amount of work and making great contributions in curbing the turmoil and quelling the counterrevolutionary rebellion.

We have already achieved a decisive victory in the struggle. However, it must be clearly recognized that this struggle has not ended and there is still much arduous and painstaking work to be done. We also need to deeply reflect on why this shocking struggle was initiated in our higher education institutes. We need to seriously sum up these experiences and derive lessons from them. The basis of and key for doing well in this work and reflecting correctly on the issues lie in seriously studying and firmly implementing the spirit of the 4th Plenary Session.

Below, centering on this issue, I would like to talk about four aspects.

**1. Seriously Study and Understand the Major Historical  
Significance of the Convening of the 4th Plenary  
Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee and  
Unswervingly Implement the Spirit of the Plenary  
Session**

The convening of the 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee indicated that our party and the people had scored a decisive victory in the struggle to curb the turmoil and quell the counterrevolutionary rebellion, our socialist republic had been protected, the basic interests of our party and the people had been safeguarded, and ensured that our undertaking of socialist construction and reform will be able to develop forward in a healthier way. On the basis of summing up the historical experiences of the 40 years since the founding of the PRC, and especially the experiences of upholding the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization during the opening up and reforms over the last 10 years, the plenary session reaffirmed the party's basic line, that is, "the one focus and two basic points," established the party's third-generation leadership group, and made clear the current tasks. This provided a reliable guarantee for our country to victoriously progress along a socialist road which has Chinese characteristics. The convening of the 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee will become a very important page in the history of our party.

Unifying ideology and uniting the whole party on the basis of studying and implementing the spirit of the 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee is the most important political task facing the whole party and the whole country. This is the key to summing up the past, creating the future, and doing well in current work. Higher education institute party organizations must take the dissemination and study of the spirit of the 4th Plenary Session, and the strengthening and correction of the political stand of the broad masses of teachers, students, and staff and workers as the key tasks. Through serious study and discussion, they should get the whole body of party members and the broad masses of cadres and staff and students to fully understand and comprehend the major historical significance of the 4th Plenary Session, further understand the great danger of this counterrevolutionary rebellion, more closely center on the party Central Committee, achieve ideological and political unity, and strive to do well in the various aspects of higher education work. We need to fully recognize that doing deep, painstaking, and goal-oriented ideological education work and unifying the ideas of the broad masses of teachers, students, and staff and workers with the spirit of the 4th Plenary Session and Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speeches is the key to stabilizing the situation in higher education institutes and in the whole country. Furthermore, whether this ideological unity and political unity can be achieved will greatly affect the future fate and long-term stability of the party and the state. Without such an important

ideological base and common understanding, real stability will not be possible, there will be no way to achieve the aims of "invigorating China and realizing the four modernizations," and it may even result in repeated disturbances whereby the country and the party will have no peace. We must seriously remember the historical experiences and lessons that have been paid for in blood, make painstaking plans and arrangements, and grasp this education tightly, deeply, and thoroughly.

During this turmoil and rebellion, many teachers expressed the idea that it was good and that it indicated love for the party and love for socialism. Some teachers, as they did not understand the true situation at the time, even engaged in improper words and deeds. These people should, through study, consciously sort out their own ideas. We also need to warmly help them to raise their understanding and to distinguish right from wrong, and continue to trust and look after them. Some of the students who were drawn into the turmoil and who saw the situation develop in a completely opposite direction to which they hoped it would, indicated that they wanted to study and understand the situation anew. This attitude should be positively welcomed. We must not engage in investigating the students who said wrong things and did wrong deeds during the turmoil because they did not understand the true situation. We should hope that they will sum up the experiences and lessons well and trust that, after they understand the true situation, they will endorse the measures taken by the party and the government in curbing the turmoil and putting down the rebellion and endorse the various decisions taken by the 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee. In brief, we should concern ourselves with, cherish, and educate the broad masses of young students, so that they grow to become successors to the cause of socialist construction and reform. All higher education institutes should, after the start of the new academic term, set aside some time to organize the students to study so as to supplement the political classes, continually sum up the experiences of study, and engage in the work of propagation of and education in the spirit of the 4th Plenary Session in a more vibrant, more convincing, and more influential way.

Within the institutes of higher education there are a very small number of people who obstinately upheld ideas of bourgeois liberalization and who conspired to stir up and fan the turmoil and the counterrevolutionary rebellion. They do not represent our people's teachers and patriotic students. Rather, they are the enemies of the broad masses of teachers and students. In respect to these people, we should, in accordance with the stipulations of the relevant documents of the Central Committee and the State Council, seriously, earnestly, and cautiously do well in the work of ferreting them out. Those law-breakers and criminal elements should be firmly punished in accordance with the law. We must not be soft on them. At the same time, we must do well in using these negative examples to educate the broad masses of teachers, students, and staff and workers.

## **2. Firmly Strengthen the Party's Leadership Over Schools, Strengthen Ideological and Political Work in Schools, Use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought To Educate Students, and Adhere to the Socialist Orientation of Education**

A large number of young students were drawn into this turmoil and rebellion. This fact requires us to soberly reflect on the experiences and lessons of ideological work. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, we must soberly consider the past and the future. How should education be carried out? There needs to be an overall answer. This is an acute problem which history has posed to our education workers.

It cannot be denied that education has a class nature. Every social system uses its own ideology to educate and influence its students. Our country, as a socialist country, naturally requires that education serve socialism and that it train for the socialist cause builders and successors with a firm and correct ideological orientation. Thus, our education work must adhere to a socialist orientation.

Adherence to the socialist orientation in education requires the use of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to educate students and perseverance in providing ideological and political education to students so as to train them as successors to the socialist cause. This is a major principle of our country's education work. Education work, scientific research work, management work, and all other types of work in the schools should tightly center on this point, so that students are educated through teaching, management, and service, and the students engage in self-study and self-service. We certainly cannot allow our students to become so-called "democratic individualists" or persons who put themselves ahead of the people and ahead of the motherland, or even persons who oppose the party and oppose socialism. From this turmoil and rebellion, we can clearly see that a very small number of students showed themselves to be affected by bourgeois liberalization on the political level and that their ideological base is extreme individualism and anarchism. In their actions, they cared not for the law and even adopted Cultural Revolution-type measures. Some even linked up with foreign anticommunist and anti-China forces. In their ideologies, these people not only negated the communist party and socialism, but also negated thousands of years of the fine traditions of our national culture and negated the history of the struggle for liberation over the last 100 years. Is it not distressing and deeply perturbing that the ideological development of some students of socialist universities has come to this!

What sort of people are fostered and how they are fostered is a basic question in the education sphere. For some time past, some people have not been clear on this, and have even become muddle-headed. In implementing educational principles, they have not placed political orientation in the prime position or adhered to the standard requiring overall moral, intellectual, and

physical development. Rather, they have placed intellectual education above all and weakened ideological, political, and moral education, which have as their core socialist and communist education. In recruiting students, examinations, selecting students to go overseas, in conferring degrees and in other work, there has widely existed to differing degrees the phenomenon of pushing to the side assessments in terms of moral education, the spirit of giving of oneself, ideology, and moral character. In higher education there has been a trend toward becoming divorced from production, divorced from reality, divorced from the national situation, and divorced from the laboring and rural masses. The reason for this, apart from the influence of the tide of Western education, was that the senior party leader, Comrade Zhao Ziyang, actually abandoned the four cardinal principles, downgraded and weakened leadership by the party, incited and protected people who instigated bourgeois liberalization as well as the flood of various sorts of bourgeois liberal and other mistaken ideologies, caused disorder in the ideologies of some cadres and teachers, and interfered in the ideological work of schools. This turmoil should make us vigilant and ensure that we are clear about the following: Education must serve socialism. Using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to educate students and foster builders of and successors to the socialist cause is the basic principle of educational work. On this question of principle we absolutely cannot be vague, absolutely cannot waver, and absolutely cannot make concessions.

Adhering to the socialist orientation of education requires maintaining and strengthening the party's leadership over schools and guaranteeing the leadership and political core roles of party organizations in education. Since the founding of the PRC, we have instituted various leadership systems in higher education institutes. By summing up the experiences of practice we can see that the system whereby the school head assumes responsibility under the leadership of the party committee [dang wei ling dao xia xiao zhang fu ze zhi 8093 1201 7325 1418 0007 2699 7022 6298 6307 0455] accords best with the actual situation and work demands of our country's higher education institutes. At present, a small number of schools have implemented on a trial basis the system with the school head in charge of overall responsibility [xiao zhang fu ze zhi 2699 7022 6298 6307 0455]. Under this trial system those schools where results have been encouraging can continue to explore this system and sum up experiences. Those schools where results are not good should decide to change back to the system where the school head assumes responsibility under the leadership of the party committee. For some time to come, we should not further expand the scope of the school head in charge of overall responsibility system. Regardless of which system is implemented, in all cases the leadership of the party over the school must be strengthened. When the system of the school head assuming responsibility under the leadership of the party committee is adopted, there still needs to be a division of functions between the party and the

administration. The party committee should not take over administrative duties, but should stress bringing into play the functions of the school head and the school administrative system. The function of the party committee is political leadership. Its primary tasks are maintaining the political orientation of the school, doing well in building the party ranks, leading the ideological and political work of the whole school, building a crack political work contingent, unifying the whole body of teachers in "educating and fostering people," and strengthening ideological and political education of the broad masses of young students. The local party committees should, as quickly as possible, conduct a study and stipulate measures with respect to strengthening the leadership of higher education institute party committees, including the establishment of party committee groups, the building of party organizations, and ideological construction.

To sum up, adhering to the education of students in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and maintaining the leadership over schools by the party committee are unwavering basic principles for maintaining the socialist orientation of our country's higher education.

### **3. We Must, in a Clear-Cut, Deep, and Sustained Way, Develop the Struggle Against Bourgeois Liberalization**

The four cardinal principles are the basis of the state. They are also the lifeblood of our country's higher education. Adherence to the four cardinal principles in higher education institutes requires the use of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to clearly criticize the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalization. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought was formed through the process of engaging in struggle with all sorts of bourgeois ideological tides. If we do not engage in struggle with the ideological tides of bourgeois liberalization, and let them spread, we will lose this important front constituted by higher education. After that, a socialist orientation, leadership by the party, training socialist successors, and so on will become but empty words.

In our country there still exists and will continue to exist a struggle over whether we should travel the socialist road or travel the capitalist road. The struggle between these two roads, two fates, and two ideologies determines that criticism of the bourgeois liberalization ideological tide will be a long-term political task. Those within the country who firmly adhere to the stand of bourgeois liberalization, as well as foreign hostile forces, always see higher education students and especially young students as the major targets of attack. One of their major strategies is, through spreading and disseminating the ideology of bourgeois liberalization, to infiltrate and foster so-called "democratic individualists" and scramble for the young generation in an effort to destroy our ranks in a vain attempt to establish a bourgeois republic in China. For some time, many cadres and teachers in our country's higher education institutes have engaged in resistance to and struggle against the

flood of bourgeois liberal ideologies. However, there have also been quite a number of comrades who have relaxed their vigilance on the ideological level, and a small number have become captives of bourgeois liberal ideologies. Some persons who hold staunchly to bourgeois liberal ideologies have used our forums to wantonly spread opinions which are antiparty, antisocialist, and anti-Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and this has poisoned the souls of young students. Some courses and, in particular, some social science courses have completely unanalytically and uncritically taught bourgeois social ideas. Some illegal organizations and "salons" have been extremely active on campuses and anarchist and extreme individualist ideas have proliferated. These things provided the basis, on the ideological, public opinion, and organizational levels, for the turmoil. We should draw in these deep-going lessons, make criticism of the bourgeois liberal ideological tide a basic task for higher education institutes, and carry this work forward in a thorough and sustained way.

We need to make a full assessment of the influence and harm that the bourgeois liberal ideological tide has produced in higher education institutes. All higher education institutes must, under the leadership of the party, organize social science teachers and researchers to link up with the reality of their schools and carry out thorough criticism of those anti-Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought ideas spread by bourgeois liberal representatives, and especially of those ideas that have had a quite great influence on the young students. We need to expound on the basic ideas of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with regard to democracy, freedom, and human rights, and reveal the nature and hypocrisy of the ideas spread on these questions by the bourgeoisie. We must proceed from China's national situation and explain the reasons why China cannot implement the Western multiparty system or have the private ownership system as the major element of the economy. We need to guide the teachers and students to firmly establish the concepts of "without the CPC there would be no New China" and "only with socialism can China be saved and be developed." We need to deeply develop education in patriotism and must particularly stress the unity of a deep love for the motherland and a deep love for socialism. We must ensure that students develop national self-respect and national integrity and look down upon and oppose ideas and actions that blindly worship foreign things. We must criticize extreme individualism and anarchism and point out that these are the ideological roots of opposition to socialism and worship of capitalism. We need to strengthen education in the legal system, so that students and student organizations exercise their own democratic rights within the lawful paths. We need to seriously study and reform education in the social sciences, and adhere to the leadership of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We certainly cannot allow, in the forums of socialist universities, the unanalytical and uncritical espousal of mistaken ideas of the bourgeoisie. All institutes of higher learning must make efforts, through the criticism of bourgeois liberal

ideas, to arouse the spirit of teachers and students, unify the ranks, and lay down a solid ideological basis for persisting in the socialist orientation and fostering successors to the socialist cause.

#### **4. We Must Persist in the Overall Policy of Reform and Opening Up, Engage in Deep Reform of Education, and Promote the Development and Prosperity of Education**

After gaining a decisive victory in curbing the turmoil and putting down the counterrevolutionary rebellion, the question of whether the party and government's basic principles with respect to education will change or not, and whether the party's policy with respect to intellectuals will change or not, has become a question of concern to many people both within the country and abroad. Here, I can clearly tell everyone that the party and government's basic principles and policies with respect to developing and reforming our country's education and the general policies on intellectuals, which include respect for knowledge and respect for skills, not only will not change, but we will strive to implement them even better. Higher education institutes and the whole education front will continue to implement the basic line which involves "economic construction as the center, adherence to the four cardinal principles and adherence to reform and opening up." They will also continue to implement the principle that "education must serve socialist construction and socialist construction must rely on education." The party's 13th congress clearly pointed out that, for all vital and major projects for generations to come, education is the base, and it placed education in the prime position in economic construction and social development. We not only must adhere to this development strategy, but must do even better than before in actual implementation.

We are going to continue to deepen the reform of education ideology, the education system, the structure of education, the teaching system, and the content and methods of teaching. We will also thoroughly reform the situation where, to differing degrees, education is divorced from reality, divorced from production labor, and divorced from the national situation, and in an overall way, raise the quality of education and foster skilled people who can meet the real needs of socialist construction.

We will continue to reform the system of educational funds and adhere to the principle of raising educational funds through many channels and, on the basis of developing production, the government will make efforts to increase investment in education.

We will even more firmly implement the party's policy on intellectuals and implement the party's "double-hundred" policy, seriously do well in the work of unifying, supporting, and improving the teaching staff, and fully bring into play their key roles in scholastic and moral education. At the same time, we will continue to strive to raise their social status and economic remuneration.

We will, with great enthusiasm, trust, concern ourselves with, and help the broad masses of students, so that they can healthily develop in the moral, intellectual and physical spheres. Thereby they will not only attain a high scientific and educational level and a healthy body, but also have a firm and correct political orientation and revolutionary spirit of arduous struggle.

We will continue to implement the policies of opening up, further develop international educational exchanges and cooperation, and draw in and study all beneficial experiences from abroad. We will continue to implement the principle and basic policy of sending students to study abroad and, as always, look forward to more students who have studied overseas returning home so that they can play a role in the four modernizations.

In brief, all educational policies beneficial to adherence to the four cardinal principles and to reform and opening up will remain unchanged. The cause of socialist education will only have hope if we persist in reform and opening up. Of course, the reform and opening up which we institute in the education field will have adherence to the four cardinal principles as a precondition. It certainly will not be the "complete Westernization" spouted by those people who stubbornly hold to bourgeois liberalization. Comrade Xiaoping was correct when he said that what some people call "reform" should be renamed liberalization, which is another way of saying instituting capitalism. The core of their "reforms" is the instituting of capitalism. What we call reforms are different than what they consider reforms to be, and this question needs to be further debated. In order that reform and opening up can continue to develop in a healthier way, and more in line with the national situation, on the basis of summing up experiences, in the future it will be necessary to make some readjustments to some specific educational policies and practices. This certainly does not mean that we will be implementing a closed policy.

Comrades, higher education institutes have an extremely important role to play in our country's political stability and unity and in the various undertakings involved in socialist modernization. The party Central Committee and the State Council place very great importance on the work of higher education institutes and hope that the party committees of all provinces, autonomous regions, and directly administered cities and all the central ministries will strengthen leadership over higher education institutes. After you return to your work posts, you should seriously report the spirit of this conference to your local party committees and, under the unified leadership of the local party committee and in accordance with the actual situations of your regions and your schools, formulate plans and ideas on how to further implement the various aspects of work for higher education institutes at present, and arrange their implementation. Along with doing well in this work, it will also be necessary to centralize some strengths and, in accordance with the spirit of Comrade Xiaoping's speeches, look at the past and look to the future and further

research long-term ideas for the development and reform of education. At present, regardless of whether we speak in terms of the whole country, or in terms of higher education institutes, there are many difficulties to be faced, but there are also many basic beneficial conditions for doing well in our work. We must work hard with an inspired spirit and with full confidence, and struggle hard to do well in the provision of socialist higher education with Chinese characteristics.

### **Some Thoughts on Ideological and Political Education for University Students After the Quelling of the Rebellion**

*HK1809093089 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 89 pp 9-13*

[Article by Luo Xiangmin 5012 3276 3046 of the Research Office of the CPC Beijing Municipality Committee]

[Text] The student unrest which began on 15 April with the excuse of mourning Comrade Hu Yaobang, was the fifth occasion of student unrest in Beijing since 1980. Finally, it developed into a counterrevolutionary rebellion, until it was ended by the iron fist of the proletarian dictatorship. Faced with the losses produced by this turmoil and rebellion and the high cost that had to be paid, the broad masses of the people feel shocked, and the broad masses of students and young teachers who proceeded from patriotic fervor, but were drawn into the turmoil, feel regret, "as though having experienced a nightmare." In a speech made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping when receiving the top cadres of the capital's martial law enforcement forces, he pointed out: "The eruption of this turmoil is worthy of our contemplation, so that we can soberly assess the past and the future." In accordance with this spirit, I would like to put forward a few ideas on the question of ideological and political work for university students.

#### **1. What Sort of Persons Do We Want To Foster?**

The "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Improving and Strengthening Ideological and Political Work in Institutes of Higher Education" requires that "University students and research students who are fostered by institutes of higher education should have a firm and correct political orientation, should love the motherland, love socialism, support the leadership of the communist party, and exert themselves in studying Marxism." "We also must, from among their ranks, foster a group of advanced elements who have a communist consciousness." Comrade Deng Xiaoping has also pointed out the need for students to "have ideals, morality, culture, and discipline." The decision of the Central Committee and Comrade Deng Xiaoping's directive show the requirements and hopes that the party and the older generation of revolutionaries have for university students. However, the actual situation is very far from the hopes of the party. In the last few years, there have been different understandings as to the sort of

persons we should be fostering, and for a long time there has been unending debate. Some hold fast to placing a correct political orientation in prime position and in fostering successors to the communist cause; some have left aside the four cardinal principles and one-sidedly stressed the fostering of a consciousness of reform and innovation and a spirit of enterprise; some believe that, in today's world, the stressing of political orientation is a manifestation of ossification, a pernicious vestige of "leftism," and that this will obstruct the fostering of modern, skilled personnel; some people feel that it is sufficient for the students just to have a patriotic consciousness; some do not propose any goals in the fostering of the students and hold that any unified goals will obstruct the development of people's individuality; and so on. If we are able to formulate a correct policy and implement this to the letter in actual work, it will not be difficult to resolve these differences in understanding. However, what is proposed for actual work is one thing, while specific policies and actual measures are often something else. This has caused ideological work to plunge into greater confusion. For example, in handling the relationship between being red and expert, that is, between politics and work, there are those who have stressed the work and ignored the politics, being good in one aspect has replaced being good in three aspects and, as long as one is good in study, one can join the CYL [Communist Youth League], enter a higher school, and be assessed as a "three-good student" and as an "outstanding graduate." Middle-school education is run just as a way to get to the next level of education. Here, grades are everything. They are just like the "magical jewel" that Jia Baoyu wore around his neck. Undergraduate education in universities has become just a preparatory stage for becoming a research student and for studying overseas. In the selection of students to study abroad, the foreign language abilities of the students has become almost the sole criterion. In the evaluation of teachers' qualifications and their appointment, there is much stress placed on their research achievements, while their abilities in terms of teaching and fostering students are overlooked. Being "expert" is a hard requirement, while being "red" is a soft requirement. Such an extremely unhealthy atmosphere and situation produced a group of people like Hu Ping and Liu Xiaobo, who were outstanding on the academic level, yet reactionaries on the political level. If it was considered before this turmoil and rebellion that, among the vast number of university students, the appearance of a few reactionary students in the Wang Bingzhang and Hu Ping molds, was not a cause for concern, then the actual activities of the students during this turmoil and rebellion should cause us to abruptly reconsider. Among these people, there were some who openly cursed the the communist party as "an evil party" and a "corrupt, dictatorial party." They shouted "overthrow the communist party" and "revise the Constitution, abolish the four cardinal principles," and called out "Let us soon sound the death knell for the public ownership system and welcome the Republic's tomorrow." What was particularly distressing was that so many students participated in and gave

sympathetic support to this sort of turmoil which was obviously antiparty and antisocialist in nature. People will no doubt ask: Are the people we have fostered the successors to the cause of proletarian revolution or successors to the bourgeoisie? Can the "peaceful evolution" looked forward to by Dulles, be achieved by the people of this generation? As I write this article, I still believe that the majority of our university students are good. Their participation was, in the majority of cases, a result of their deep feelings for the motherland and, although there were some excesses in their words and actions, they were proceeding from righteous indignation over some terrible things and proceeding from their high hopes for the party and for the party and state leaders. However, the harsh reality is that there is no reason to not let people point out the acute problems mentioned above, and there is no reason to accuse them of having groundless fears. If we do not point out these problems, understand these problems, and put great efforts into resolving them, there will be no way to arouse the deaf and the benighted, and this tragedy might be repeated.

I believe that, in the fostering of students in the future, schools must "place firm adherence to a correct political orientation in the prime position," and in examinations for entering schools of a higher grade and in the selection of students to study abroad at public expense, we must adhere to the standard requiring the students to be both red and expert.

## 2. In the New Situation, Is Ideological and Political Work Necessary?

When the reforms began, university students shouted the slogan "invigorate China." Seeing the welcoming attitude that the students had toward the reforms, some people felt that it was possible to sit back and relax and that ideological and political work could be relaxed during the course of the reforms. In fact, because of the gradual deepening and development of the reforms, the friction between the old and the new systems, the clashes between Chinese and Western culture, the clashes between new and old concepts, and the readjustment of various interests, we faced many new situations which needed to be studied and students faced many new problems which required correct answers. In particular, this turmoil and rebellion has mercilessly pointed out to us that those reactionaries, both within and outside the country, who dislike our socialist system, have not, even for a moment, relaxed their activities of subversion against us. They have adopted political, economic, and cultural measures to carry out corrosion, infiltration, and bribery, in order to foster the "democratic individualists" they require. Those tertiary students who are referred to as "the fourth generation" cannot compare in political quality, Marxist theoretical level, or social experience with the university students of the 1950's and 1960's, and are even greatly inferior to those students of the 1977-79 "third generation." Their ideological and political immaturity is in great evidence. Their "self-awareness" is strong, but they lack self-supervision,



self-restraint, and self-control capacities. They have hopes for "personal plans" and "personal struggle," but they cannot correctly handle the relationship between the interests of the individual, the collective, and the state. They long to develop skills, but lack the spirit of arduous struggle. They want to participate in society and politics, but are divorced from the realities of society and lack the capacity to differentiate between right and wrong. They oppose "the saviour" and yet see themselves as the "the saviour," and consider that they alone are enlightened. They have a surplus of negative ideas, but very few constructive ideas. When they talk about the Chinese nation, they recognize not a single redeeming feature; when they talk about the party's style, they only see "out-and-out corruption"; and when they talk about socialism, they see it only as "restricting the productive forces." According to a survey by ourselves and some comrades from institutes of higher education in Beijing, there has been an increase in recent years in the proportion of people who consider that "there is no hope of enriching and strengthening China through reliance on the CPC and that there is a need for a multiparty system" and who hold that "the difference between socialism and capitalism is not one between the good and the bad, and that we should engage in capitalism."

Some weak-willed people have, when faced with Western culture, not distinguished the good from the bad. They have taken some decadent things as models or even blindly worshipped them. Some people look at love and marriage using the concept of "sexual liberation." This concept is without a sense of responsibility, without a sense of morality, and without a sense of law. They hold that the end result of love need not be marriage, and that love is only for the purpose of satisfying psychological and physiological needs. They see it as "something to soothe away worries" and "a diversion from boredom." When these needs of theirs cannot be satisfied through normal channels, they engage in hooligan and criminal activities. Some people, under the prompting of the erroneous idea that "in the face of need, there is no law," have not hesitated to steal to satisfy their desire for money. According to statistics from 67 institutes of higher education, from 1980 to May 1986, a total of 388 students were sentenced to penal detention or more serious punishments.

We must never forget that the middle-term goal of engaging in reform and opening up is the realization of the four modernizations. If we only create a high level of material culture and have a backward spiritual culture and we return to the situation of old China, then we will be going against the original intentions of reform and opening up and will not be able to say that our reforms are successful or socialist. Thus, under conditions of reform and opening up, we must adhere to the four cardinal principles and must "grasp the dual tasks" and ensure that these dual tasks are organically combined. Sustain in terms of the present activities of university students and the heavy tasks they must take on in the

future, ideological and political work not only cannot be relaxed, but must be strengthened. Otherwise, the students may lose their orientation and take the wrong path.

### 3. Who Should Carry Out Ideological and Political Work?

As far as regular ideological and political work in institutes of higher education is concerned, the work should be carried out mainly by specialized ideological and political education workers, student party and CYL organizations, and specialized course teachers. If the enthusiasm of these three contingents could be motivated, then, under the unified leadership and coordination of the school party committee, it would not be difficult to do well in regular ideological and political work. However, the actual situation is not like this. Although the institutes of higher education in Beijing have a quite large contingent of full-time and part-time political workers with a high educational level, those who see ideological and political work as a science and are determined to struggle all their lives in the field constitute only 25 percent of the total. Those who have been forced into the work, are full of grievances, muddle their way along, and are constantly requesting a transfer or resigning, also constitute 25 percent. The other 50 percent do their work in accordance with the principles of party spirit and with a sense of responsibility and in a conscientious way. The situation with respect to part-time political work cadres is not greatly different. Apart from the case of a small number of schools, a small number of teachers, and a small number of courses, where political theory classes are well-received by students, in general teaching results are poor and the situation where students detest these classes is quite widespread. In a majority of cases, student attendance rates and classroom order are maintained by having examinations and keeping an attendance record. In terms of party and CYL organizational construction, in these last few years we have stressed only development on the quantitative level while ignoring qualitative improvement. There are some students who, although having joined on the organizational level, remain outside in terms of ideology, and their organizational concepts are generally weak. Some say: "When I am in agreement with the party, I listen to the party, but when I am not in agreement with the party, I listen to myself"; "First I adhere to individual interests, then I worry about the party"; and "Party members are people first and only then party members." They believe that within the party there is no relationship between the individual and the organization, only relationships between individuals, and that no party member can be subject to the restrictions of the organization. This has led to even greater laxness in student CYL organizations. About half of CYL branches have cultural and physical activities, such as excursions, get-togethers, and all sorts of competitions as their major activities, while 60 percent of such branches do not have branch courses, and there exists

the trend toward becoming just like other mass organizations and general student organizations. This weakness in organizational concept is not manifested only in ordinary times when they are unable to play a model role among the masses and the branch organizations cannot form "battle strongholds," but, during the key period of student unrest, they refused the exhortations and restraints of the organization and participated in or even took the lead in disturbances. The history of education throughout the whole history of mankind has shown that, whether a teacher recognizes it or not, and whether the teacher accepts it or not, teaching always involves the role of morally educating people. This is an objective law independent of man's will. As far as every teacher of the people is concerned, they are not only required to pass on knowledge and skills, but in the process by which knowledge and skills are passed on, they must consciously, regularly, and in an overall way provide education in the ideals, morality, and discipline of the proletariat. However, for various reasons, among specialized class teachers in the Beijing institutes of higher education, only about 20-25 percent of persons can regularly and in a quite conscientious way provide moral education while they are teaching their subjects. On the other hand, there are some teachers, especially some young teachers, who have forgotten the sacred role of teachers of the people, and not only is their "subject teaching" fairly slapdash, but in the classrooms they spread liberal ideas.

The fact that the three forces on which regular political and ideological work in schools depend have come to such a stage, makes it easy to understand why, in this incident, when a small number of bad people engaged in instigation, so many students and young teachers were drawn in. This situation has provided us with a bitter lesson and we need to determine to resolve the problems.

Where lies the answer? I believe that we need to strengthen ideological and political work for students and must use policies to motivate the enthusiasm of teachers for both teaching and morally educating their students. Only thus will it be possible to bring about a basic change in the situation. This is not only because in the schools the teachers are the next most numerous after the students, but also because they have a natural teaching relationship with the students and have a great influence on the students and there are not the same worries as there are about specialized political work cadres. Our reforms should not only be on the written level, but should also extend to actual work. We should truly manifest these requirements in the assessment, qualifications, and appointment of teachers, and make moral education through teaching a hard requirement. The idea of abolishing specialized political work cadres is not, I think, feasible at present or in the future. However, the present situation needs to be reformed. We cannot see political workers as a "fire-fighting contingent" and seek just an increase in their numbers and adopt "human sea" tactics. The principle for building should be fewer people of better quality and we should

develop in this direction. We should establish a post and promotion system external to that of the specialized teachers, so that, from their own experiences, they do not consider this work to mean "a loss," and instead they see bright prospects. As soon as such a contingent is formed, it will become increasingly excellent. While school heads "must be responsible for the overall development of the students in the moral, intellectual, and physical spheres and, in the light of their various duties, do well in ideological and political work," the party committees and secretaries must bring their leading and core roles into play. They cannot just "guarantee and supervise." This is because institutes of higher education are different from factories, producing as they do spiritual products rather than material products. Any practices that weaken or downgrade the leading role of the party in institutes of higher education, or its core position in ideological and political work, are wrong. In party building, we need to implement the principle of quality first, quantity second. "It is better to be smaller and better." Any efforts to reduce the standards required for entering the party must be firmly resisted.

#### 4. Should We Have Strict Demands and Strict Management?

Seen from the angle of educational psychology, the process of education is a process between those educating and those being educated of mutual understanding and interflow of "psychological demands." If an educator does not love his students, has no feeling for his students, and is not psychologically in touch with his students, we cannot begin to talk about good education. However, many experiences and lessons tell us that love is not all-powerful and that, if there are no demands, there will be no education. A love without strict demands is a weak love. In Su-huo-mu-lin-si-ji's words, it is "the most tragic of things. This is instinctive, irrational love. Sometimes, it is simply like a mother hen's love." In the words of Liu Zongyuan [2692 1350 0337], "although one speaks of love, the reality is that one brings harm." In the last few years, as there has been one-sided stress placed on a "harmonious" and "relaxed" environment, because the problem of weakness and laxness in the party organization long remained unresolved, and because of the tolerance and support of Zhao Ziyang and other people for bourgeois liberalization, some things that students and teachers were required to do could not be constantly and unwaveringly persisted in, and some people and incidents that violated law and discipline were not punished. Some students regularly stayed away from classes, did not do their assignments, and stayed in their dormitories reading novels or went out wandering. When exams came around, they used all methods to engage in cheating. Some teachers not only did not impose strict demands and strict management upon them, but on the excuse of "helping the students to revise," provided students with hints on exam questions or even helped the students to engage in cheating during the exams. This situation has been even more pronounced on the political level. It is understood that after the last few incidents of student unrest, almost none of the leaders and backbone elements who created the disturbances were subject to the punishment of party

discipline. CYL discipline, or school discipline. Nothing happened after the disturbances and these people did not have to shoulder any responsibility or pay any price. They continued to receive their allowances and scholarships and were still assigned to work in major departments. Thereby they came to the conclusion that "there is no loss through engaging in a disturbance and, even if it achieves nothing, we still want to make a disturbance." Disturbances became their magic weapon in pressuring the government and pressuring their schools. If their complaints had a basis, the opportunity to make a disturbance would not be let slip, and even if their complaints had no basis, they would still use them as an excuse for a disturbance. They had caused disturbances before, and they would continue to make disturbances. They would cause disturbances while they were at the schools and, even after graduating, would come back to join in the disturbances. The greater the disturbance, the greater the zeal and the greater the experience. The major criminal Xiong Yan of the illegal organization "Beijing Federation of Autonomous Student Unions in Universities and Colleges," for whom an arrest warrant was issued, was an active participant and vile instigator of the student unrest which was touched off by the incident in which Chai Qingfeng was killed. In a big-character poster, he wrote: "Today's China is at the darkest stage of its history. Although it is cloaked in the guise of 'reform' and covered by the veil of 'economic development,' in reality its mechanism is rotten, its backbone is broken, and all that remains is a fat mouth sucking the blood of the people." Less than a year later, he appeared again in Tiananmen Square and became a member of the "Standing Committee." After Liu Gang graduated from the physics department of Beijing University, he was assigned to work in Ningbo. Last year he sneaked back into Beijing University and, during the Chai Qingfeng incident, provided plans and policies for the agitators, and brazenly engaged in counterrevolutionary agitation. In this recent turmoil, he again became the No 3 person in the "Beijing Federation of Autonomous Student Unions in Universities and Colleges." I believe that it is unfair to excessively blame weakness at the basic levels. In fact, in the handling of many incidents, as the upper and lower levels had different understandings, and the lower levels were not given support, although they wanted to be firm, they were unable to do so. With respect to the students, we can no longer adopt such a pampering attitude. Those who have broken the law or gone against discipline should be subject to the appropriate punishments. We cannot be vague about this. They must learn that "disturbances" are not "no loss" activities, and they will have to pay a price.

#### 5. What Sort of "Microclimate" Should Be Established?

At the beginning of this year, a "fad for commerce" began in the various universities in Beijing. The students, without any inhibitions, started all sorts of operations within the school grounds and began selling their commodities and soliciting customers as if they were business people. In the confused din of selling, there were some

people who were trying to hone and develop their own skills in order to be accord with the development of the commodity economy. However, the majority were just engaged in making money. In order to make money, many people felt no scruples about defying the law or about sacrificing their studies. Whatever could bring in money was bought and sold. These ranged from things as small as women's stockings to things as big as cars. Some considered that learning how to use improper means and low-level connections was something to be proud of, and were pleased with their illegal actions, which hurt others but benefited themselves.

Readjusting the free market on the economic level within the schools has, relatively speaking, drawn people's attention and has been quite easy to do, and now the situation is much better than at the beginning of the year. However, we have not instituted management over the free market which exists on the political level. In some schools, there is a lack of effective management over "social groups," "salons," and "academic forums" and there is no assessment of the "experts" and "personages" who are invited to speak at such meetings. Also, when problem develop, there is no effective means to eliminate the effects. The organizers invite anybody they wish and those who are invited say anything they wish. Some people who are engaged in bourgeois liberalization, in order to realize their plans, think up all sorts of ways to expand their influence and seek supporters and foster followers. Those students who are politically naive and who are easily excited and those famous schools that are lax in management are the prime targets of such people. This is a very important reason why the more that key universities see disturbances, the more serious the situation becomes. In the last few years, Fang Lizhi and other people have utilized deficiencies in our work to spread many falsehoods at various of our forums. This has poisoned the academic and ideological environment of the schools, instigated and incited student disturbances, and created much trouble for the institutes of higher education and for society.

Another thing that people find difficult to understand is why, in some famous schools, although there are high walls and many people within, and although there is a security department and there are guards at the gates, bad people can enter quite easily and engage in evil activities within the schools, and remain there for a long period without being discovered—for example, Xue Deyun [5641 1795 0061], who fled from Guizhou to Beijing and used relationships with people from the same province to stay in the dormitories of a particular university. Under the name of the "Sun Poetry Society" he engaged in poetry-writing with people from the department of Chinese and he spread a great volume of reactionary ideas to his fellow poets and those from his home province, inciting them to engage in disturbances. In the student unrest that erupted in Beijing at the end of 1986, he played an evil role. An Anhui person named Huang Suying [7806 4790 5391], after coming to Beijing in August 1985, began to unofficially attend sociology

classes in a particular university and slept in classrooms and the library. On 17 September, he pasted up at this university a reactionary big-character poster signed "A Chinese person." This attacked our government as being "a corrupt government, the last days of which are approaching." This incited students to go to the party congress which had been held at the time at the Great Hall of the People, to present their "Protest Letter." During the Chai Qingfeng incident, Liu Gang [0491 0474], who was neither a student nor a teacher, constantly attended student meetings and furiously engaged in counterrevolutionary instigation.

Over the last few years, the broad number of education workers have put forward quite a few ideas with respect to the "macroclimate." This, I feel, is beyond reproach. If there are no ideas put forward, the problem will be more serious and it will show that, on the political level, they are already numb. However, it is wrong to think that as the "macroclimate" has a great effect on the "microclimate," there is nothing which can be done about the "microclimate" and it can only remain passive and vulnerable and just adjust itself to and agree with the "macroclimate." If this were true, why is it that, under the same "macroclimate," some schools did not see any disorder, while others hardly saw a day of peace? What is the reason that some schools have a correct atmosphere and others have unhealthy and noxious trends and influences? Why is it that, in the one school, when leading cadres change, a completely different "microclimate" can appear? The crux lies in whether the cadres are willing to grasp the tasks and whether they dare to manage the situation. Furthermore, the "macroclimate" is composed of "microclimates," just like a green environment is created by single trees and small pieces of grassy earth. The "microclimates" play a reacting role on the "macroclimate." Our institutes of higher education are places where skilled persons for our country's high-level construction are trained. Not only do they thus bear the major task of training skilled persons who are up to the necessary standards, but they should also be the firm ground for building socialist spiritual culture. Here the party organizations should become firm strongholds in resisting the evil and pernicious influences coming from the "macroclimate" and in opposing bourgeois liberalization.

The famous poet Tao Yuanming of the Jin dynasty wrote in one of his poems: "If you are aware of those things which were not remonstrated against in the past, you will know what those in the future will seek to correct. The way to not stray far off the path is to recognize what is correct for today and what went wrong in the past." These words, I feel, are applicable to our party, our country, and most of those who participated in this incident. If we truly "are aware" of and "recognize" these things, then this bad thing which has happened can have good results, our party will have great hopes, our country will have great hopes, and our university students will have great hopes.

### What Kind of 'Democracy' Do an Extremely Small Number of People Want?

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[Article by Li Jian 2621 0256]

[Text] In the course of the recent unrest and counterrevolutionary disturbance in the capital, the word "democracy" was used most commonly and indiscriminately. "We want democracy" was the loudest call. Following the spread of the disturbance and its subsequent quelling, good people have increasingly come to understand clearly that this storm could be likened to a big drill in democracy of the capitalist class and that its essence was the refutation of socialism and the leadership of the communist party in the vain attempt to establish a capitalist republic. In China, the attempt to practice capitalist democracy did not succeed in the past and it is definite that it cannot succeed now or in the future. Actual practice has testified to this point and will continue to do so. However, many people, after the painful moments have subsided, are still confused and unclear about the "democracy" propagated by this extremely small number of people. Hence, it is necessary to make an analysis of their outcry for "democracy," its guiding principle, and its movements.

#### I

Democracy, be it democracy in the state system or democracy in a nonstate stature, but in economic, cultural and social life, has been continuously sought by people in different stages of history, since the day of its birth. In seeking and facilitating democracy, first it must be made clear the nature of the democracy sought after and for which class of people it is being sought, otherwise the movement will miss or lose its direction and go astray. This is because in the world there is no abstract democracy, it is always concrete. It has class disparity as well as disparity in national conditions. In today's world, democracy is generally of two kinds, that is, proletariat democracy and democracy of the capitalist class, or socialist democracy and capitalist democracy. The two are related to each other and at the same time are different from each other. An extremely small number of people have declared that "there is no eastern or western democracy" (Yen Jiaji's words). This takes advantage of the liaison between socialist democracy and capitalist democracy to smother the differences between the two, to confuse their nature, to cheat the unknowing, and thus accomplish their deceitful purpose.

True, as a result of the historical continuity nature of ideology, the dialectic unification of content and form, and the relationship of the dual functions of the government suppressing opposition by the classes and carrying out government affairs, socialist democracy and capitalist democracy do have their common points and nature of continuity. For example, they both stand in opposition to feudalism and are not tolerated by the latter. They both demand the abolition of the lifelong

tenure system of government employees and the hereditary system, ask for the requirement of election of the principal leadership government personnel, as well as fixing the time limit of their term of office, and seek equality, freedom, and other rights of citizens. However, these relations do not and cannot smother the differences between the two in their essential nature. For example, the principal bodies of democracy are different: In socialist democracy by far the great majority of people enjoy democracy; the extensive masses of workers exercise their right of administering the state and society in their capacity as masters of the house, and, for the first time in history, they have become the principal bodies of democracy. In capitalist democracy, the small number of capitalists specially enjoy democracy and although it puts up the slogans of "people's sovereignty" and "equality for all citizens," in reality it is democracy for the single class of capitalists. The power of the state is held in the hands of the capitalists and their agents to the utter exclusion of the proletariat and the working people. Then there are differences in the class character and the object of dictatorship: In its capacity as the state system, socialist democracy is the democratic system of the proletariat and the vast masses of working people and is also the system of dictatorship over an extremely small number of opposing elements of socialism; in the case of capitalist democracy, democracy is practiced within the capitalist class, while against the proletariat and the vast masses of working people the dictatorship system is in practice. There are also differences in the economic basis and target of services generated by democracy: Socialist democracy is built on the basis of the public ownership of the means of production, it serves the consolidation and development of socialist economy, and at present it serves socialist modernization; capitalist democracy is based on the capitalist private ownership system and serves the consolidation and development of capitalist production. Lastly, differences may be found in the relationship between content and form and the principle and actual practice of democracy: Capitalist democracy places the major emphasis on propagating various kinds of freedoms and rights, but uses "universal democracy" and "whole people democracy" to cover up the government's dictatorship over the extensive masses of working people, without allowing the latter to enjoy the various rights and freedoms; hence capitalist democracy is hypocritical and false, while its content and form, principle, and practice are dislocated. Socialist democracy possesses an extensive and special feature, manifested not only in its large number of democratic principal bodies, but also in the most important and most fundamental democratic rights of administering the state and various economic, cultural, and social affairs and supervising the state organs and their working personnel; hence its content and form, principle and practice are unified and it is democracy in name and in fact. These differences basically determine the quality and character of these two kinds of democracy. An extremely small number of people, including those self-styled, experienced, political economy research workers are by no means unaware of this basic knowledge of the fundamental differences in

quality between socialist democracy and capitalist democracy, but they have never talked about the differences between the two. Rather, they have confusingly and in a general manner propagated democracy, deceived and influenced the masses of young students, directing certain people to make loud outcries. Their wicked motive is to have the capitalist democracy of the West replace the socialist democracy of China.

The attempt on the part of an extremely small number of people can be seen more clearly from their estimate and analysis of our country's democratic conditions. Any country that wants to seek and promote democracy must have a basic prerequisite, that is, the basis to start. In today's China, in order to talk about fighting for and promoting democracy, we must naturally have a basic estimate and analysis of the condition of democracy in our country and then determine whether to start on the basis of democracy having achieved great development since the founding of the 40-year-old people's democratic dictatorship system and the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee or to have all this overthrown and start anew, starting over from before 1949 or even from the May 4th Movement in 1919. This is something that any person seeking democracy cannot avoid.

So-called "democratic fighters" such as Fang Lizhi and his clique believed as early as 1986 that China's socialist system was "modernized feudalism" and "basically a dictatorship system" and "centralized-power system." On 1 June, when talking to a Japanese reporter, he said that this democraticized movement, "first of all, is basically to realize freedom in thinking, speech, publication, and news reporting, freedom in assembling and organizing societies, and freedom to demonstrate," and to enforce "direct election" and the "multiple-party system." It is a "huge tidal wave and direction." Obviously, he took the dictatorship and autocratic rule system which allegedly had no democracy or liberty as the starting point in the striving for democracy. This sort of estimate did not tally with facts, was erroneous, and also was an attack with an ulterior motive.

What we have established since 1949 is the people's democratic dictatorship system and not a despotic and autocratic feudal system. The Constitution clearly stipulates: "All the power of the PRC rests with the people," and "as stipulated by law, and by means of various ways and form, the people control state affairs, the economic and cultural enterprises, and social affairs," it concretely specifies that the citizens exercise various rights of democracy and freedom. In actual practice, the people's democratic system in our country has been continuously improved, the scope of democracy has been continuously expanded, and the people's democratic life has been continuously enlivened. Particularly, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, democratic construction has achieved continuous development in various aspects. Reform of the economic structure has rectified the overcentralized management structure, given the production units and the individual

worker more autonomous power and promoted development of economic life in plants, enterprises, and rural grassroots-level organizations. The redressing of a large number of formerly mishandled cases has resolutely stopped the use of the slogan of "taking class struggle as the leading factor" and greatly improved democratic life; under the new historical conditions, the patriotic united front has been further developed and strengthened, and perfection of the multiple-party cooperative system under the leadership of the Communist Party has enabled the system to play an increasingly important role in the democratic life of the country; further implementation of the "double-hundred" guideline has further activated our scholastic and theoretical circles and the literary and art circles in their creations and research work, and enabled them to make great progress; continuous development and perfection of the legislation and systematization of democracy have provided a reliable guarantee for the further development of democracy, and so on. In spite of the fact that in the various sectors of political, economic, cultural, and social life many undemocratic phenomena continued and that in certain localities, departments, and personnel the feudal remnant influences and phenomena of corruption are still rather serious, such as the family head system, ideas of special privileges, bureaucraticism, and using power to seek private gains, yet all this does not and cannot change the objective facts of our country having already set up the people's democratic system and democracy having continuously developed. Besides, all these phenomena must be continuously removed in carrying out socialist democratic construction. Hence, promotion of democracy can only proceed under the precondition of maintaining the people's democratic dictatorship system and carried out on the basis of the democratic fruits already attained. Deviation from this basic point not only cannot promote our country's socialist democracy, but also may cause ideological confusion and social disturbance and damage the democratic results already attained. This will make our country's democratic construction and even the entire modernization program slip backward. Fang Lizhi and an extremely small number of people closed their eyes to the clear stipulations in the Constitution of the country, refused to admit the basic fact that democratic construction has been greatly strengthened, blasphemed against our country's democratic dictatorship system as being "despotic" and "autocratic," and advocated replacing it with a multi-party system and wholesale westernization. This basically refuted any possibility of developing democracy under the conditions of socialism. This was no longer a dispute in ideology and theory, but signified a stand in opposition to socialist democracy and opposition to the party, government, and people.

Any kind of democracy has a set motive, that is, for whom the benefits are intended or whether or not the democracy can be of benefit to them. The kind of democracy we wish to promote is democracy for workers, peasants, intellectuals, and other working

people. It is socialist democracy, democracy that conforms to China's national conditions and is democracy that is beneficial to socialist modernization and construction and to the prosperity and thriving of the Chinese race. An extremely small number of people mixed up the differences between socialist democracy and capitalist democracy, twisted the purpose of, and blasphemed against, China's people's democracy for the purpose of striving for democracy for a small number of people with ulterior motives, schemers, and all counter-socialist forces. This could be beneficial only to the reactionary forces within the country and abroad and could not be of any benefit to the masses of working people. Their actual practice this time of starting this capitalist democratic great demonstration has clearly shown this point. The several weeks of disturbances and rioting brought to the Chinese people disruption of their life of tranquility and unity, their universal anxiety and unrest, cruel persecution of the republic's fighting forces, untold damages to socialist modernization and construction, and frightful losses of more than billions of yuan. Against this, reactionary forces inside and outside the country and even overseas were gladdened and lent support from all sides. And when the counterrevolutionary disturbances were suppressed, they behaved as if they had lost their parents and elicited a vicious tide of enmity against the Chinese. Was this not sufficient to illustrate the real essence of the so-called democracy of an extremely small number of people? Therefore, those people with a positive motive, wishing to promote socialist democracy, should be alerted to making clear that the democracy they themselves wish to promote and the so-called "democracy" wanted by the extremely small number of people are essentially two different things.

## II

In this troublesome episode, the theoretical weapon employed by the extremely small number of people to refute and replace socialist democracy was the democratic theory of the Western capitalist class. How to handle this theory and whether or not it can be wholly transplanted in China must be answered when marking the demarcation line between us and an extremely small number of people.

Regarding the recent and modern democratic theory of the West, it is erroneous to adopt the policy of closing the door against it and the attitude of utterly refuting it. In the course of our developing socialist democracy, we need to learn from the theory of modern Western capitalist democracy, assimilate its essence, and reject its dross. Our party's correct advocacy all along has been that we make use of things foreign. However, in recent years an extremely small number of people who have firmly insisted on capitalist liberalization, making use of the various kinds of public opinion propaganda tools in their hands, and without criticizing and analyzing, have sold on a large scale modern capitalist conservative democratic theory and definitely poisoned a considerable number of young students. When a certain puzzled

college student asked about the target of this so-called "democratic movement," Fang Lizhi's emissary and tool, Wang Dan, replied: "Establishment of a multiple-party political entity and realization of refined and superior politics." This specified the two kinds of typical and representative "democratic" theories currently in vogue in the West. Before analyzing these two theories we need to have a basic understanding of certain principal capitalist democratic theories currently in the West.

Since the start of this century, as capitalism enters the stage of imperialism, the already existent bourgeoisie democratic theories ran into a crisis. The old bourgeoisie democratic theories were also known as the classical democratic theories, and referred to the democratic outlook of the scholars of enlightenment and the utilitarians. This kind of democratic outlook originated in ancient Greece and implied the basic meaning of the "people's sovereignty." Peter Young, an Australian scholar of American nationality, once interpreted it as follows: "The democratic method is a type of systematic arrangement for reaching political decisions; the systematic arrangement makes people, by means of election, congregate those who express their wishes to decide by themselves the problems under dispute and thus to realize common welfare."<sup>1</sup> However, as capitalist society progressed, the earlier bourgeoisie concept of democracy had no way of falling in line with the realities of capitalism. In the real capitalist society, a democratic system in conformity with the classical democratic theory did not exist. So-called "people's sovereignty" and "common welfare" were nonexistent in capitalist society. Gradually, the false and deceitful character of the old democratic theory of the bourgeoisie became obvious and this theory become difficult to sustain. In view of this situation, certain bourgeoisie scholars in this century began to carry out the so-called "revision" of the old democratic theory of the bourgeoisie. It was against this background that there emerged various forms of bourgeoisie democratic theories. The trend of the development and evolution of these theories changed from the earlier revolutionary nature to conservatism, and from the hypocritical people-oriented nature to an openly anti-people nature. Although among these theories there were certain valuable ideas, the general tendency was toward continuous decline.

In this disturbance, the refined and superior politics advocated by an extremely small number of people was in reality a wholesale copying of the theory of "refined and superior democracy" of the West. Its representative was Peter Young. This theory was an obvious idealistic concept of heroes creating history. Peter Young once publicly announced: "The populace are mere children who are not susceptible to support," "the typical citizen once stepping into the political arena will fall into the low level of certain spiritual activities."<sup>2</sup> Hence, he believed that people's rule was not possible and that only a small number of refined and superior people in society could rule. Although he admitted that rule by the refined

and superior people could come from elections, he also advocated that the people's wishes need not be considered in elections, or that it would not be possible to carry out elections according to the people's wishes, because, as he saw it, "the people were passive and had no way of clearly expressing their own desires."<sup>3</sup> People's wishes were "created wishes;" "in actual life, people did not bring up problems and did not decide on problems. On the contrary, under normal conditions, deciding on their fate and political decisionmaking were brought up by other people for them and rendered for them."<sup>4</sup> According to Peter Young's democratic theory, the political process was only a process of competition for leadership, in which "politicians bringing various kinds of political programs and promises to the political market, through such tools as political parties, and utilizing such tactics as advertising psychology, slogans, as well as open and secret deceitful measures to strive for people's votes and their pledge of loyalty. For their part, the electors brought to the political market their votes in exchange for the anticipated benefits or the politicians' promises."<sup>5</sup> This was the basis of so-called "refined and superior democracy" or "refined and superior rule." The emergence of this theory not only implied that the method of study moved from formalism to realism, but also reflected the trend of Western democratic theory shifting from revolution to conservatism. Could it be that in socialist China we should copy in total the modern West's "democratic" theory, which is conservative and damaging to the masses?

The extremely small number of people creating the disturbance and riot definitely had attained the "real essence" of the theory of "refined and superior democracy." According to an investigative report, "worship by college students of the West's democratic system was a general phenomenon." But, in Beijing University, "roughly 50 percent of the students definitely did not know the actual meaning of democracy and used empty democratic slogans as objects they strove for."<sup>6</sup> An extremely small number of people utilized the students' childishness and blindness and artful slogans and dangerous intrigues to fool the people, beguile their minds, and they vainly attempted to establish in China rule and domination by their own self-styled "refined and superior" personages. However, the people's heart could not be fooled after all, and following the development of the disturbances an increasingly large number of college students awoke from their state of being fooled. It can thus be seen that a doctrine that goes against the people's will ultimately be cast aside by the populace.

The "pluralistic political structure" is a transference of the theory of "pluralistic democracy" of the American scholar Dolle [duoer 1122 1422]. Speaking from the context of philosophy, Marxism advocates the monism theory and opposes the dualism theory. Planting the concept of unit [yuan 0337] in the sociopolitical domain has an extremely indefinite meaning. If "yuan" refers to the essence of politics in society, then in today's world there exists no pluralistic political structure, because in



the Western world, regardless of what strange forms its democracy may take, in the capitalist class and in capitalism, the basic of this unit or "yuan" is the same. If the concept of unit or "yuan" refers to different levels or grades and different parties or cliques, then not only are the politics of different countries in the West pluralistic, but politics of the different countries in the east are by no means monistic. Hence, when we talk about pluralism in Western democracy, we must never overlook the monistic nature of the democracy's capitalist class. If, when talking about pluralistic politics in socialism, it is necessary to refute the principle of leadership by the communist party and socialism, then it will not work. The pluralistic political structure in the West has the precondition that on top of the foundation of the private ownership system the two or many parties concerned can rise and sit on terms of equality. In China, the socialist public ownership system is the main body economically, while, in politics, outside of the communist party, there basically cannot be formed another large party equal in status to the communist party. Therefore, in China there does not exist a social foundation or political foundation for the enforcement of a plurastic political structure.

As far as the democratic theory of the Western capitalist class is concerned, Dolle's theory of "democracy of pluralism" was handicapped. Even he himself admitted that there were four large faults. First, it stabilizes political inequality. In Western society a serious political inequality exists and people must resort to various means of struggle to rectify this state of affairs. However, a democratic structure of pluralism "is a sort of extremely conservative stabilizing force before the demands of a renovative structure."<sup>7</sup> Unless this type of democratic system is abolished, there is no way to carry out any form of social "change" and "reform." Second, it causes changes in the citizens' wishes. Under a pluralistic democratic structure, a sort of specially fixed political culture is generated. This sort of culture lacks an understanding of collective, public, social, and universal interests, but stresses only the narrow interests of one's own self, of the individual, or the group or syndicate. Third, it twists or bends the public's agenda. Organizations under the pluralistic democratic structure are unusually active. They frequently, for the sake of their own interests, attempt to interfere in the government's decisions and policies, and thus make it difficult for certain correct reform measures to be formulated and enforced. Fourth, it alienates the ultimate controlling power. In a structure with hundreds of organizations under it, the government will lose control of society. Society can only be influenced by organs representing only a portion of the people and under a pluralistic democratic structure and facing organs which "will create disturbance," "representatives of a democratic state have no way of making nonobedient organs obey."<sup>8</sup> Using autonomous organs to influence the state and government and causing the country to fall into a state of anarchism—this will suit the taste of the extremely small number of people bent on causing riots and disturbances in Beijing. Against this type of conservative democratic

theory, which rejects any kind of social reform and change, and this type of democratic theory, which plays the role of "creating disturbances," it is hardly possible to have it transplanted in China.

The extremely small number of people causing riots and disturbances in Beijing spoke frequently of "promoting democracy," but their actions and principles were in direct opposition to democracy. They openly announced in Tiananmen that 99.9 percent should obey 0.1 percent. The advocacy of this principle was not accidental. The basic principle of democracy—the principle of decision by the majority (or the principle of the minority following the majority) has constantly suffered from attack. Seen by certain people, it seems that the majority principle is a "primitive democratic idea," and is a "popular democratic concept" that should be buried. They have exaggerated the original minority principle in democracy and praised it as a "brand new democratic concept," "rich in principles of a revolutionary nature." In reality, deviating from the majority principle, democracy is no democracy; and isolatedly propagating the minority principle can lead only to anarchism. Worshiping the minority principle is openly asking the majority of people to respect and follow the interests and demands of an extremely small number of capitalists. This is also a manifestation of democracy of the capitalist class shifting from revolution to conservatism. This time, an extremely small number of people created the riots and disturbances in Beijing because they did not and could not represent the basic interests of the great majority of students and people. Hence, they could only use the "minority principle" of current Western democracy of the capitalist class to hold the populace under duress so as to accomplish their criminal purposes that cannot be revealed to people.

From this it can be seen that the democratic theory of the West is currently evolving in the direction of conservative and counterdemocracy and the direction of extreme democratization. Taking over this sort of "democratic" theory to guide and promote democracy in China will only result in being reactionary and destructive to socialist democracy.

### III

Because democracy is a continuously developing and continuously perfecting historical process, once the target of a fixed historical stage is determined, it must be realized through a fixed form and the adoption of necessary measures. We must strengthen socialist democratic construction, attain the target of a high degree of democracy, all along advocate and firmly insist on depending on the efforts of people of the whole country, and proceed under the conditions of stability and unity and following the tracks of law and regulations. Since a small number of people wished to totally take over the democracy of the Western capitalist class and attempted to establish in China a republic of the capitalist class, they reversed the procedure. Seen from the mean tactics they adopted during this demonstration, we can have a



clear idea of their real countenance in their attempt to wreck and damage socialist democratic construction.

First, willfully disregarding and violating law and regulations, breaking social order and proceeding to plan riots and disturbances.

The legal system is the centralized manifestation of the wishes of the ruling class and is the basic system and method of realizing class rule and administration in the country; democracy is manifested in the form of the legal system if the precondition and foundation for the existence of law exists, and governs the extent of the perfection of law. Hence, democracy and the legal system contain each other, understand each other, and are closely related. A democracy without a legal system does not exist. However, a small number of people from the beginning disregarded and trod underfoot the Constitution and law. They disregarded the Constitution's early ruling of the abolition of the "four bigs," posted large-character posters and reactionary leaflets on college campuses, large streets, and small alleys, attacked the four cardinal principles, negated the socialist system, and refuted the leadership of the communist party. They paid no regard to the 10 regulations on parades and demonstrations endorsed by the Standing Committee of the People's Congress of Beijing Municipality. They organized parades and demonstrations at will, staged sit-ins and hunger strikes, occupied Tiananmen Square, interfered in important state activities, and launched attacks on the State Council, party central organs, public security organs, and party and government organs in the localities. They violated the certain regulations governing control of social bodies in Beijing Municipality and illegally organized an "autonomous association of higher institutions of learning" without going through the required procedure of application, registration, and approval; for the sake of opposing the imposition of martial law, they actually published articles in Hong Kong fabricating articles in the Constitution. They called for the overthrow the central people's government which had been legally instituted through democratic procedure and election and also called for the overthrow of the state chairman and the premier of the State Council. Quite obviously, their so-called "protection and maintenance of the Constitution" was wholly for the purpose of deceiving ignorant and unknowing people.

Democracy demonstrates that citizens enjoy various kinds of rights and privileges, such as freedom and liberty, while the legal system affords protection of these rights and privileges. Democracy implies not only that one enjoys various rights and privileges, but also that other people likewise enjoy such rights and privileges and that one cannot interfere with other people's enjoyment of rights and privileges or deprive them of such rights and privileges. Our Constitution makes explicit provisions regarding this. Nevertheless, an extremely small number of people would not attend classes themselves or do any work, tried to interfere with the factories and classrooms, stirred up strikes, forbade workers to go to work and students to go to classes, abused and called

those seeking resumption of classes "student thieves," and openly declared that "those leaving Tiananmen Square would be punished with death;" they intercepted cars by lying on the road, interrupted traffic, interrogated pedestrians, and without any authority robbed the police of their power to direct traffic as well as the freedom of the extensive masses of people to ride buses or even to take a walk; they would only permit themselves to stop military vehicles, insulted with bad words, beat and even killed members of the People's Liberation Army, armed police, and officers, and forbade other people to render aid; they would allow only themselves to circulate rumors and blasphemy at will and would not permit other people to express doubt; even inside their organization of the autonomous association of the higher institutions of learning, some of the leaders, angered or not feeling at ease, would speak loudly against those under them or even beat and assault them. Quite obviously, their so-called "democracy" and "liberty" were, in fact, despotism to other people.

Marx pointed out, "There is no right that does not carry with it any obligation and there is no obligation that has no right attached to it."<sup>9</sup> Democracy not only manifests various kinds of rights and privileges, such as liberty and others, but also bears definite obligations and responsibilities and has also liaison with definite discipline. For example, when a citizen exercises his right of freedom, he cannot damage the interests of the state, society, and collective to maintain social stability and law enforcement. However, an extremely small number of people deceived the students and the people and secretly plotted and planned unrest and counterrevolutionary rebellion, disrupting normal teaching work, scientific research, production work, livelihood, and general social order, and causing enormous losses to the socialist construction enterprises. It can thus be seen that the kind of democracy that they are after was only an extreme kind of democracy, violating laws and statutes, and disrupting and wrecking order in general. It was literally counter-democratic anarchism. People had learned a lesson from the 10 years of disturbances during the Great Cultural Revolution. Making use of the tactic of "great democracy" not only cannot promote democracy but can only wreck democracy.

Second, indiscriminate use of the right of "press freedom" to open the way for rioting and disturbance.

"The press must speak the truth," "The press must have freedom"—these are the slogans that certain people are now shouting. Generally speaking, what they say is correct. Telling the truth is the basic principle of our country's socialist newsmen and reporters. Press freedom as a constituent part of the freedom of speech is a sort of democratic right of the citizens and was early given protection in our Constitution. However, abstractly speaking, what is truth and what is freedom cannot be clearly discerned or which is right or wrong. The news and public opinion of a certain period, under the direction and connivance of certain people, may, on the pretext of the use of press freedom completely and

erroneously guide public opinion in the wrong direction. This can at least make people see the following three problems:

1. Certain reports do not tell the truth. The so-called truth news and public opinion refers to the real and actual character of the news. It is not the phenomenon or appearance of things, nor the false shape, but the real and true shape and essence. In the course of this student movement, rioting, and disturbances, the phenomena, appearance, and false shape of things were naturally many, but the true shape and quality of events was not entirely without revelation. Why was it that certain news commentators known for their acute and rapid observation preferred to see, but did not seem to notice? For example, clearly with the permission and support of certain people, the thought wave of capitalist liberalization ran rampant and certain newspapers and magazines demanded the refutation of the anticapitalist liberalization guideline and the redressing of those who had committed errors in capitalist liberalization. A large number of facts on the rebellion exist and the party Central Committee made a correct judgment of their real nature, but certain press units ceaselessly published lengthy articles of complaint and open letters attempting to force the party and government to acknowledge that they constituted a patriotic democratic movement. Facts have thus shown that certain news was not only not objective but also untrue, and that "speaking the truth" was false.

2. The press freedom asked for was not the kind of freedom understood within the scope of the Constitution and law. In any society, press freedom, like all rights or freedom, is not absolute. It must suffer certain restrictions and possess a relative meaning and press freedom that is super-time-and-space and superclass does not exist. Locke, a capitalist theorist, said: "Where there is no law, freedom does not exist," freedom "is not the kind of freedom in which everybody can do whatever he likes."<sup>10</sup> In France, the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen stipulated: "Each and every citizen has freedom of speech, writing, and publication but, under the conditions of legal regulations, should bear the responsibility of the indiscriminate use of this freedom" (Article 11). In 1948 the United Nations conference on freedom of the press likewise pointed out: "Freedom of expression and publication also has its relative obligation and responsibility; violations should be punished, dealt with, and restricted according to the clear dictates of the law." Thus, even in capitalist countries and international organizations, press freedom has its restrictions. Regarding the news and public opinion in our country, despite the differences in the division of work in the various units and that the demands of interests reflected are not the same, maintenance of the four cardinal principles incorporated in the Constitution is the common objective. Under such a precondition, news and public opinion have their full freedom, but without this precondition then it is very difficult to call them socialist news and public opinion. However, certain

news units, while clearly knowing that a certain extremely small number of people openly refuted the four cardinal principles, called for the abolition of the communist party leadership and vainly attempted to overthrow the legitimate government created by the Constitution, published the cries and complaints of Yen Jiaji, Bao Junxin, and others, and exerted pressure on the government. Facts have shown that the press freedom of certain people has long exceeded the stipulations of the Constitution and law.

3. Violation of the people's basic interests. Suppressing rebellion and maintaining a political situation of tranquility and unity are the minimum assurances of socialist democracy and modernization construction. Herein lie the people's violent wishes and basic interests and also are the duties and responsibilities of the party and government. But certain news units now only did not reflect the people's hopes and wishes for safety and unity, nor pointed out that the adoption by the party and government of the measures of suppressing the rebellion was in conformity with the basic interests of the people, but acted in the reverse and helped to inflame public opinion for the disturbances and rebellion, actually playing the role of helping the wicked and thereby basically went against the people's interests. Facts have shown that certain people in news and public opinion units violated the professional moral code of the socialist newsmen and caused the news and public opinion under their control to lack party character and the people's character. Despite the fact that there are people who have again and again split the party's character from the people's character in news and public opinion and made them stand opposed to each other, thus trying to delete the party character on the pretext of strengthening the people's character, certain news units have actually shown that they lacked both the party character and the people character, which in fact should have been one and united. The errors made in the guiding direction of news and public opinion in this incident have again cautioned us that the larger the extent of the freedom departing from party leadership and violating the Constitution and law, the more serious will be the possible danger.

Next, the dependence on overseas, external reactionary forces and domestic social rubbish and dregs "to promote democracy."

The extremely small number of people fostering the student movement have an international background to start with. As soon as the student movement began, various overseas and external political forces hostile to socialist China at once started up. Some of them offered plans and schemes for the movement, some speedily proceeded to Beijing to take direct control, some ordered their concealed special agents or directly dispatched spies to incite trouble on the spot, some contributed funds, goods, and materials as a gesture of support, and some released large amounts of rumors and fabrications to confuse the world's hearing and seeing. An extremely small number of people inside the country came into intimate contact with external forces, spread their

rumormonging inside the country, some gave talks to foreign reporters, seeking help and support, and some directly published articles in Hong Kong attacking the party's and the state's leadership personages. Simultaneously, they bought out, hired, and organized current robbers, arsonists, local ruffians, rascals, and the like, former prisoners still unreformed, remnants of the gang of four, and other social dregs. For a time, these forces congregated under the banner of "we want democracy," heralded and closely cooperated with each other from afar, and seriously wrecked the state's tranquility and socialist democratic construction.

Democracy, regardless of quality or character or stage or scope, in its appearance and extent of development in a country, can only be striven for by the efforts of the country's people in accordance with the national conditions of the country and dependence on external forces is never realistic. Dependence on foreign grants or support from external forces, though succeeding in setting up a so-called "democratic regime," cannot attain real independence and autonomy, but can achieve only subordination. This was not only attested to by the history of foreign countries, but also proved by history in China. Be it the former Beiyang government or the Koumintang Nanjing government, neither of them succeeded in establishing an independent democratic system. Aside from China's own social causes, this basically was because these political powers relied on and sought refuge with imperialist forces, whereas no imperialist country was or is willing to have a powerful democratic China to compete and contend with it.

The establishment of China's socialist democratic system was the result of the CPC leading the various races of people in long-term sanguinary struggle and sacrifices, and was also the result of determinedly resisting and excluding interference from foreign countries. The desire of Western capitalist forces to enslave China has not vanished. Though changed in form, the strategy of overthrowing socialist China is still in operation. Hence, our pushing democratic construction still needs to depend on people of the whole country making united efforts and needs to be carried out under the leadership of the CPC. This is not only because the people are the nation's masters and the principal body of promoting democracy, the principal force of resisting foreign intervention, and only by depending on the people can democratic construction become their own conscientious movement, but also because without the CPC's leadership it will not be possible to realize projects that go along with democratic construction, such as economic construction, construction of the legal system, elevation of the quality of science and culture of the whole people, strengthening of democratic ideas, and shaping of democratic customs. If the pushing of democracy depends on elements inside or outside the country who are dissatisfied with or hostile to the communist party and socialism, then none of the democratic suppositions can be realized and even whatever democratic fruits that have been gathered will be lost. If the

extremely small number of people should succeed in their dark schemes, then China will be thrown back into the deep pit of being controlled and enslaved. This is by no means saying frightening things to scare people. Did not Liu Xiaobo once make the outcry that China for 300 years more would still need to be the colony of imperialism? After the failure of the rebellion, the "democratic fighters" and the "refined and superb personages" like Fang Lizhi and his wife had to escape at once to the American Embassy and begged for protection. Did they not make the best footnotes?

The lesson from the extremely small number of people staging the democratic experience and demonstration this time has told us that we must firmly insist on the Marxist democratic outlook, remove the pollution on the democratic problem caused by people who had for a long time insisted on capitalist liberalization, and, under the leadership of the communist party and depending on the masses, continuously improve the legal system, maintain a stable social and political order and the country's prolonged stability and peace. And only by so doing can we continuously push forward the building of socialist democracy.

#### Footnotes

1. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democraticism*, Commercial Press, 1979 edition, p 312.
2. *Ibid.*, p 328.
3. FOREIGN POLITICAL SCIENCE, No 6, 1988, p 13.
4. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democraticism*, p 334.
5. POLITICAL SCIENCE RESEARCH, No 1, 1988, pp 32-33.
6. POLITICAL SCIENCE RESEARCH, No 1, 1989, pp 26-27.
7. *Dilemma of Democracy of Pluralism*, QIUSHI Publishing House, 1989 edition, p 44.
8. *Ibid.*, p 53.
9. *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol 16, p 15.
10. *Theory of Governments*, p 36.

#### Only the Socialist System Can Develop China

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[Article by Li Chengrui 2621 2052 3843]

[Text] Comrade Deng Xiaoping recently pointed out: "Only socialism can save China, and only the socialist system can develop China." This scientific conclusion has been proved convincingly by the economic achievements made by New China during the four decades since its founding.

## I

After the Opium War in the 1840's, our motherland was gradually reduced to a semicolonial and semifeudal society under the aggression and plundering of the imperialist powers and under the oppression and exploitation of feudalism at home. To save the nation from peril, many people with lofty ideals fought heroically, advanced wave upon wave, but all failed in their endeavor. It was only after the birth of the CPC and after the correct road of advancing from new democracy to socialism was found by integrating Marxism-Leninism with reality in China that the people of all nationalities throughout the country, led by the CPC, were able to overthrow the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism, which weighed like mountains on the backs of the Chinese people, and founded the PRC after fighting against extreme hardships and difficulties for 22 years.

As soon as it was founded, the PRC immediately set about restoring the national economy which was badly devastated by long years of war and embarked on the majestic cause of developing and revitalizing China along the road of advancing from new democracy to socialism.

The economic legacy of old China was extremely backward. Modernized industry, primarily light industry, accounted for only about 10 percent of the national economy. The highest annual output of major industrial products in old China were as follows: Yarn, 450,000 tons; cloth, 2.8 billion meters; steel, 920,000 tons; raw coal, 61.88 million tons; crude oil, 320,000 tons. Although old China was said to be an agricultural country, its highest annual output of major agricultural products was a mere 150 million tons of grain and 850,000 tons of cotton. The bulk of food and clothing was imported. Through the merciless exploitation of the Kuomintang government and the destruction wrought by successive years of war, this low level of productivity saw further declines. When comparing the output volumes for 1949 with the highest figures for old China, we see declines of 30 percent for light industry, 70 percent for heavy industry, 25 percent for grain, and 48 percent for cotton. Inflation was astronomical. There were victims of natural disasters and people without jobs everywhere. It was from this state of devastation that economic construction of New China struggled to its feet.

In order to develop the economy, the people's government first abolished the economic privileges enjoyed by the imperialists in China and regained the power of customs administration, which had long been held by the imperialists. The key to the gates of tariff was once again put back into the pocket of the Chinese people. At the same time, the bureaucrat-capital of the Four Big Families was confiscated and made part of the state-owned socialist economy. Henceforth, the state controlled the economic lifeline of the whole country. Land reform was carried out in the vast, newly liberated countryside. Peasants with little or no land were given 47 million

hectares of land, as well as other means of production, and were exempted from the payment of land rent to landlords, which amounted to 35 million yuan annually. The vast numbers of peasants thus became masters of the land. Through these measures, the social productive forces were emancipated from the shackles of imperialist, comprador, and feudal relations of production. Thus began a new period of the independent and self-reliant development of the national economy.

In the mid-1950's, adopting policies and methods with distinct Chinese characteristics, China gradually completed the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production in the spheres of agriculture, handicrafts, and capitalist industry and commerce. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee at the end of 1978, "leftist" ideas since the late 1950's, particularly since the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, were rectified, the traditional economic model, which featured a high degree of centralization, was destroyed, and the policy of reform and opening the country to the outside world was implemented in increasing depth and breadth, thus giving the socialist system greater vitality. During this period, the party put forward the grand development strategy of achieving the economic modernization of China in three stages (the subsistence stage, the well-to-do stage, and the moderately developed stage), advanced the theories that the socialist economy is a planned commodity economy and that China is still at the initial stage of socialism, laid down the basic line of taking economic construction as the key link, upholding the four cardinal principles, and persevering in the policies of reform and opening the country to the outside world, and put these into practice. The decade of reform and opening the country to the outside world saw the self-improvement and development of the socialist system. Although mistakes were made and complicated problems were encountered in the course of reform, tremendous successes acknowledged by the whole world were still attained in 10 years of reform and opening to the outside world with the injection of new vitality into the national economy. At present, a diversified economy with public ownership as the mainstay has developed in our country. In 1988, the total industrial output value constituted 56.8 percent from the state sector, 36.2 percent from the collective sector, 4.3 percent from the private sector, and 2.7 percent from other sectors (joint operations by different sectors and Chinese-foreign joint ventures). The total volume of retail sales constituted 39.4 percent from the state sector, 34.4 percent from the collective sector, 17.8 percent from the private sector, and 8.0 percent from retail sales by the peasants to nonagricultural residents. An output-related system of contracted responsibilities based on collective ownership has been instituted basically in the whole agricultural sector.

In the past 40 years, China overthrew the semicolonial and semifeudal relations of production, achieved the socialist transformation, and continuously improved

and developed the socialist relations of production. Although this experience was replete with the hardships, complications, and setbacks one might expect from exploration, it also provided our country with an important precondition for developing the social productive forces, as has been proven by facts.

## II

The fundamental task of socialism is to develop the social productive forces. In the course of 40 years, China has completed six 5-Year Plans for economic and social development. The Seventh 5-Year Plan will end next year. Between 1950 and 1988, investment in capital construction by units owned by the whole people totaled 1,488 billion yuan; some 4,393 large and medium-sized enterprises were completed and put into production; fixed assets with a total value of 1,561.9 billion yuan were added, 65 times the value of fixed assets of state-owned enterprises in the early days of liberation. This prepared the material and technical foundations for developing the productive forces, changing the production layout, and improving the material and cultural life of the people. In 1988, the value of total social product amounted to 2,984.7 billion yuan, 21 times the 1952 figure, calculated at comparable prices, and representing a 8.8 percent average annual growth rate. National income was 15 times the 1952 figure, representing a 7.2 percent average annual growth rate. The following are details regarding development in the various economic sectors:

**Industry:** In 1988, total industrial output value amounted to 1,824.4 billion yuan, 55 times the 1952 figure, calculated at comparable prices. Comparing the 1988 figures with old China's highest output figures for major industrial products, we see the following increases: Yarn by 10.5 times, to 4.66 million tons; cloth by 6.7 times, to 18.7 billion meters; steel by 64 times, to 59.18 million tons; raw coal by 16 times, to 980 million tons; crude oil by 428 times, to 137.05 million tons; power generation by 91 times, to 545.2 billion kilowatt-hours; cement by 92 times, to 210 million tons; and metal cutting tools by 36 times, to 190,000 sets. The automobile industry, the manufacturing of tractors, aircraft, modern metallurgical equipment, and mining equipment, as well as the electronics, petrochemical, nuclear, and aerospace industries, which were nonexistent in old China, have started and developed. Some high-technology products have joined the world league of the advanced. These include the 1.7-meter thin-board rolling mill, the 600,000-kW generating units, complete sets of equipment for iron and steel combines with an annual production capacity of 1.5 million tons of steel, complete sets of equipment with an annual production capacity of 300,000 tons of synthetic ammonia and 240,000 tons of urea, and equipment for 10-million-ton-class opencast coal mines. The industrial layout has improved somewhat following the establishment of industrial bases in the vast hinterland and in the minority nationality areas.

**Agriculture:** Thanks to the launching of large-scale farmland water conservancy construction, the acreage of land under effective irrigation increased from 30 million hectares in 1952 to 44 million hectares in 1988. Marked results were achieved in the improvement of major rivers; 170,000 kilometers of dikes were built; and more than 80,000 reservoirs were constructed. Flood was, by and large, brought under control. In old China, agricultural machinery was practically nonexistent and chemical fertilizers were never used. In 1988, China possessed farm machinery with a total horsepower of 265.8 billion watts, including 870,000 large and medium-sized tractors, 5.96 million small and manual tractors, 7.51 million sets of agricultural drainage and irrigation machinery, and 350,000 combine harvesters. Nearly 40 percent of the total cultivated acreage was plowed by machinery, while 58.8 percent of the acreage under effective irrigation was irrigated by mechanical and electrical means. In 1988, the consumption of chemical fertilizers was registered at 21.42 million tons (calculated at 100 percent available components), while that of electricity was registered at 71.2 billion kilowatt-hours. Total agricultural output value for 1988 amounted to 586.5 billion yuan, 3.6 times the 1952 figure, calculated at comparable prices. Compared with the highest output figures for old China, grain increased by 2.6 times, to 394.08 million tons; cotton increased by 5 times, to 4.15 million tons; sugar increased by 10.3 times, to 61.87 million tons; and aquatic products increased by 7.1 times, to 10.61 million tons. With only 7 percent of the world's total area of arable land, China has basically solved the problem of feeding 22 percent of the world's total population. This is a great achievement in itself.

**The building industry:** Following the large-scale development of capital construction, the building industry also developed. Between 1952 and 1988, the total output value of the building industry increased by 28 times, to 296.7 billion yuan. In the past, China did not have the ability to undertake large and technically complicated projects. Today, it can design and build extremely difficult projects, such as iron and steel complexes with an annual production capacity of 300,000 tons of steel, large coal mines with an annual production capacity of between 4 and 5 million tons of coal, the large Gezhouba Hydropower Station across the Changjiang, and the Changjiang Bridge at Nanjing. In recent years, Chinese enterprises have started contracting for the construction of major projects abroad and have won wide acclaim for their work.

**Communications and transportation:** The total operating mileage of railways has increased from 21,800 km in the early period of the People's Republic to over 50,000 km. On many railway lines, double-track rails, internal combustion engines, and electric locomotives are used. Sichuan, which used to be well known for its inaccessibility, has now become the regional transport center of southwestern China, with the Chengdu-Chongqing Railway serving the region and the Baoji-Chengdu, Xiangfan-Chongqing, Chengdu-Kunming, and

Sichuan-Guizhou Railways linking the province to other areas. Highway mileage totals 996,000 km. With more than 350 domestic and international air routes, China has initially established its civil aviation network. There were no oil and gas pipelines in old China. Now pipelines totaling 14,300 km have been laid. The total length of the national postal network and rural delivery routes have increased from 706,000 km in the early postliberation period to 5 million km. In 1988, the volume of freight turnover accomplished by different means of transportation amounted to 2,382.5 billion tons per kilometer, while passenger turnover amounted to 620.7 billion people per kilometer, 30 times and 24 times their respective figures for 1952.

**Domestic commerce and foreign trade:** The total volume of retail sales increased from 27.68 billion yuan in 1952 to 744 billion yuan in 1988, representing an average annual growth rate of 7.3 percent calculated at comparable prices. The total volume of imports and exports increased from \$1.13 billion in 1952 to \$102.8 billion in 1988. Chinese-foreign economic cooperation saw rapid development in the last decade. Between 1979 and 1988, a total of 16,377 agreements involving the use of foreign capital amounting to \$78.5 billion were concluded, and \$47.7 billion were actually utilized (including foreign loans amounting to 33 billion yuan and direct investment by foreign businessmen amounting to 12.1 billion yuan). The importation of advanced technology and equipment has played a positive role in promoting the development of the national economy. In addition, China has established cooperative ties in the form of contracts for construction projects or labor services to over 100 countries and regions.

Alongside development of the national economy, considerable headway has also been made in education, science, culture, public health, and sports. In 1988 there were a total of 1.071 million schools of various types in the whole of China, including 1.075 ordinary institutions of higher learning. Compared with the number of students enrolled in various types of schools in 1949, there were 17 times more university students and 40 times more middle school students in 1988. Over the last 40 years, Chinese institutions of higher learning have turned out a total of 6.19 million graduates of regular or specialized courses, and have trained a batch of people with masters or doctoral degrees. In the sphere of science and technology, in 1988 more than 9.66 million natural scientists were employed in units owned by the whole people, an increase of 21.7 times over the 425,000 people in 1952. Major scientific and technological achievements emerged in large numbers. The successful development of a large electronic computer capable of 100 million revolutions per second, the launching and recovery of manmade earth satellites, the launching of experimental communications satellites, the development of an electron-positron collider and the putting of this collider into operation, the development and successful operation of a heavy-ion accelerator, the theory and practice of prospecting composite oil-gas belts

(regions) in the Bohai Bay basin, the commencement of second- and third-phase projects at Gezhouba, and the commission of hydropower generating units at Gezhouba into production, as well as other projects, all reached or approached advanced world standards. China has also joined the ranks of countries with their own space programs. In 1988 Chinese hospitals had a total of 2.8 million beds, 11 times more than in 1952. The incidence of infectious and parasitic diseases, which were major health hazards to the public before liberation, dropped considerably. The death rate dropped from between 25 and 33 per thousand in old China to 6.6 per thousand in 1988. China thus became one of the countries with the lowest mortality. According to the 1982 census, the Chinese people had an average life expectancy of 67.88 years (66.43 for male and 69.43 for female), double the 34 years before liberation, and ranking among the first among developing countries. In planned parenthood, notable achievements have been scored since the 1970's. The rate of birth dropped from 33.43 per thousand in 1970 to 20.8 per thousand in 1988 (the rate dropped to 17.5 per thousand for some time in 1984). Over the same period, natural population growth dropped from 25.83 per thousand to 14.2 per thousand (the figure dropped to 10.8 per thousand for some time in 1984).

The fundamental objective in developing the socialist economy is to improve the material and cultural life of the masses. On the basis of the development of the social productive forces, the actual level of consumption for residents of the whole country had been raised from 76 yuan per capita in 1952 to 639 yuan per capita in 1988, an increase of 370 percent after allowing for price rises, or an average annual growth rate of 3.7 percent. For the first 26 years, the average annual growth rate was 2.2 percent, while for the last 10 years, the growth rate was 7.6 percent. A comparison between the 1952 and 1988 figures for the annual consumption of major consumer items per capita showed the consumption of grain increasing from 197.7 kilograms [kg] to 249.1 kg, edible oil from 2.1 kg to 5.9 kg, meats from 6.8 kg to 16.5 kg, fresh eggs from 1 kg to 5.8 kg, edible sugar from 0.9 kg to 6.3 kg, cloth from 5.7 meters to 12.2 meters, and woolen materials from 0.01 meters to 0.29 meters. Living conditions have also improved. Living space per capita increased from 4.2 square meters in 1978 to 8.8 square meters in 1988 for urban inhabitants, and from 8.1 square meters to 16.6 square meters for rural inhabitants.

After the question of feeding the population has been solved, China begins its transition into a well-to-do society. In 1988, each 100 rural households owned 107.5 bicycles, 52.5 sewing machines, 52.2 radios, 47.2 clocks, 168.9 watches, and 31.4 TV sets (including 2.8 color TV sets), while each 100 urban households owned 177.5 bicycles, 70.7 sewing machines, 294.5 watches, 73.4 washing machines, 28 refrigerators, 103.1 TV sets (including 44 color TV sets), and 64.2 recorders.

The above are major figures and facts on economic development in China over the last 40 years, and their comparisons with old China. It is obvious that the achievements made in socialist economic construction during these 40 years are the greatest achievements without any parallel in the last several hundred years, even in the last millenium.

### III

Some people said that the achievements of China's socialist economy were great only when seen through vertical comparisons, and that the picture would be quite different when horizontal comparisons were made. Is this true? The fact is, these achievements are just as great when seen through horizontal comparisons. When making horizontal comparisons, we should mainly draw

comparisons with developing countries with large populations. Although comparisons should also be made with economically developed countries, we should not ignore the existing differences and expect to achieve in a matter of decades standards that had taken these countries 200 or even 300 years to achieve.

First of all, let us make a comparison between production growth rates. Considering that the value and exchange rates of different currencies might have seen great fluctuations in the long span of 40 years, it is very difficult to draw comparisons on the basis of the gross national product (GNP) and other comprehensive figures. Thus, in Table 1, comparisons are based on the rate of growth per capita for the four major products of grain, steel, coal, and electricity.

**Table 1: Growth in Per Capita Output of Grain, Steel, Coal, and Electricity in Various Countries**

Country	Per Capita Grain Output (kg)			Per Capita Steel Output (kg)			Per Capita Coal Output (kg)			Per Capita Electricity Output (kWh)		
	1950	1987	Growth (%)	1952	1987	Growth (%)	1952	1987	Growth (%)	1952	1987	Growth (%)
China	209	377	80	2	51	2,450	115	852	641	13	457	3,415
India	169	208	23	4	15*	275	103	239	132	17	254	1,394
Mexico	175	285	63	13	92*	608	43	1,589	3,595	206	1,225*	495
Brazil	265	484	83	16	157	881	42	53*	26	181	1,516	738
USSR	549	802	46	185	572	209	1,614	2,685	66	639	5,881	820
USA	1,001	1,377	38	535	363	-32	2,992	3,405	17	2,939	10,954	273

\* 1986 figures

Source: Based on relevant data compiled by the UN Statistics Division and the World Bank. Data taken from *International Economic and Social Statistics (1952-1982)* and *International Economic and Social Statistics (1988)*, edited by the International Statistics and Foreign Affairs Division of the State Statistical Bureau, published by the China Statistical Publishing House in 1983 and 1989, respectively.

From Table 1, we can see that, except for specific indexes (per capita growth of grain for Brazil and the per capita growth of coal for Mexico), China outstripped all other countries cited in terms of the rate of growth per capita for the major products. Among these countries, Mexico and Brazil were able only to attain their respective growth rates with the help of foreign debts amounting to over \$100 billion. Of course, seen in terms of absolute per capita output, China still lagged far behind the United States and the USSR. However, this is not the fault of the socialist system. Rather, it is due to the fact that imperialism and feudalism had obstructed the development of the productive forces in China for a long time in the past. Actually, since the founding of New China, our ranking in the world in terms of total output for major products has moved up significantly: Grain,

from third in 1957 to first in 1987; cotton, from fourth in 1949 to first in 1986; steel, from 26th in 1949 to fourth in 1987; coal and crude oil, from ninth and 27th to first and fifth, respectively, over the same period; chemical fibers, from 26th in 1960 to fourth in 1987; cloth, from third in 1957 to first in 1987. Although China's per capita output is still rather low, due to the size of its population, the above-mentioned changes in ranking still serve to show the speed of China's economic development and the growth of its economic strength.

Let us now make a horizontal comparison of changes in the people's livelihood. From comparisons of major economic and quality-of-life indexes commonly used in international practices, we can see China's ranking in the world from Table 2.

Table 2: Quality-of-Life Comparisons for Various Types of Countries

	Per Capita GNP (\$)	Average Life Expectancy (years)	Infant Mortality Rate (0/00)	Adult Literacy Rate (%)	Average No of People Served by Each Doctor	Per Capita Cal- orie Intake (1000 calories)
	(1985)	(1985)	(1985)	(1977)	(1981)	(1985)
World average	2,483	63	58	66	4,040	2,656
High-income countries	11,810	76	9	99	530	3,417
Middle-income countries	1,290	62	68	57-58	5,080	2,731
Low-income countries	270	60	72	50	5,770	2,339
China	310	69	35	66	1,730	2,602
No of countries tabulated	128	128	123	98	116	124
China's ranking	105	43	44	47	56	65

Source: Based on the *World Development Report 1987* and relevant data compiled by the World Bank. Data taken from *The Theory and Practice of Social Indexes in China*, edited by He Jianzhang [0149 1696 4545] and published by the China Statistical Publishing House in 1989.

From Table 2, we can see that China ranks 105th in terms of per capita gross national product (GNP), which may be considered to be a low level; in terms of quality of life indexes, China ranks somewhere between 43 and 65, which may be considered to be mediocre. Compared with middle-income countries with per capita GNP of \$1,290, China is above the standards of these countries in all indexes except daily calorie intake. This shows

that, while guaranteeing the essential requirements of the socialist system, we have always paid attention to gradually improving the basic needs and livelihood of the broad masses of the people.

Let us now make a comparison between developing countries with GNP at more or less the same level as China. (See Table 3.)

Table 3: Quality-of-Life Comparisons for Developing Countries

	GNP (\$)	Per Capita Average Life Expectancy (yrs)	Birth Rate (0/00)	Infant Mortality Rate (0/00)	Average No. of People Served by Each Doctor	Per Capita Calorie Intake (1000 calories)	No of People Between 12 and 17 Enrolled in Middle Schools (%)
	(1985)	(1985)	(1985)	(1985)	(1981)	(1985)	(1984)
China	310	69	18	35	1,730	2,602	37
India	270	56	33	89	3,700	2,189	34
Pakistan	380	51	44	115	2,910	2,159	15
Indonesia	530	55	32	96	12,300	2,533	39
Guinea	320	40	50	153	....	1,728	13
Ghana	380	53	46	94	7,250	1,747	36
Kenya	290	54	54	91	10,140	2,151	19
Sudan	300	48	45	112	9,800	1,737	19

Source: Based on the *World Development Report 1987* and relevant data compiled by the World Bank.

Table 3 shows that compared to those developing countries whose GNP level is close to China's, our average life expectancy is 69 years, as opposed to about 50 years for other countries; our birth rate is approximately 18 per thousand, as opposed to between 30 and 40 per thousand, or even more, for most other countries; our infant mortality rate is 35 per thousand, as opposed to about

100 per thousand for most other countries. Among the six quality-of-life indexes, China ranks first on every count except in the case of people between 12 and 17 years of age enrolled in middle schools.

Many experts, scholars and organizations have given their objective appraisals of China's achievements in



economic construction and social development. In a report entitled *China: Development of the Socialist Economy*, published by a study group of the World Bank in March 1982, the following observation is made: "During the past 30 years, China's efforts at economic development have been directed toward two basic goals. First, industrialization, particularly the establishment of the foundations of heavy industry. Second, the elimination of the worst aspects of poverty. Despite complications and severe economic fluctuations, China has made tremendous headway on both fronts." "Although the average growth in the level of consumption has been slow, the most notable achievement during the past 3 decades is precisely that it has enabled the low-income masses to fare much better than their counterparts in most poor countries in terms of basic livelihood needs. They all have jobs, and their ration is guaranteed. Most children are educated, and most people can enjoy basic medical treatment and birth-control services."

At the "South-South Dialogue—Seminar on Development Strategy, Negotiations, and Cooperation" held in Beijing in April 1983, Mr A-ma-er-ti-ya Sen [7093 7456 1422 2748 0068 2773] delivered a report entitled "Economic Development: Several Questions on Strategic Viewpoints." The author made a study of 14 low-income countries with populations of over 10 million and a per capita national income of \$410 for the year 1980. Among these 14 countries, China's GNP saw the fastest growth (at a rate of 3.7 percent over the 1960-80 period). In the year 1980, the proportion of domestic investment in a country's GNP was the largest in China (31 percent). The proportion of industrial output value in a country's gross domestic product (GDP) was also largest in China (47 percent). China also ranked among the first in terms of life expectancy (64 years) and literacy rate among adults. The author also pointed out that among these countries, China ranked quite high in terms of the people's nutritional standards and had made outstanding achievements in economic growth.

In the 1988 *World Development Report* published not long ago, the World Bank made the following brief analysis between economic developments in China and India. "During the 1973-80 period, China's GDP grew at an average rate of 5.4 percent. It continued to grow at a rate of 10.3 percent between 1980-1987 and reaching the peak level of 12.5 percent in 1985. Population growth remained slow, averaging 1.6 percent annually. Its per capita GDP growth over the long term has always been considered fast among the developing countries. Although some areas remain poor, China is on a par with many middle-income countries in terms of health, educational standards, and average life expectancy. India suffered from deteriorating trading conditions in the 1970's, due to soaring oil prices. Its agricultural output also declined on account of adverse weather conditions. In the early 1980's, its GDP picked up somewhat, attaining an average growth rate of 5.0 percent over the 1980-1987 period. However, because population growth remained high, per capita income managed only an

average annual increase of 2.8 percent. Half the population in India continues to live in poverty. Infant mortality rate, the extent of malnutrition, and the illiteracy rate all remain extremely high."

From the data and facts cited above and from the vertical and horizontal comparisons made, we can see that China has made two great achievements in its development during the past 4 decades. First, it has achieved rapid economic growth not only in quantitative terms. The long-term growth rate of its per capita GNP is also very high among developing countries with large populations. Second, it has greatly improved the quality of the people's life. China has reached the standards of middle-income countries in terms of the people's health, average life expectancy, adult literacy, and other aspects. These two achievements are vivid reflections of the superiority of the socialist system. It is on the basis of the above-mentioned achievements in economic development that our country can stand among the world of nations as an independent country.

It has been proven by facts that, without the leadership of the CPC, without the socialist system, without a state power that serves the people, and without the public ownership of the means of production, the great achievements made during the past 40 years would have been impossible. It is only under the socialist system that China can develop. This is not a debate of abstract theories, but is rather a truth that has been and will continue to be proved by the history of the last 4 decades.

We have truthfully demonstrated with the great achievements of economic construction made during the past 40 years that it is only under the socialist system that China can develop. We do not deny that we have made mistakes and suffered setbacks in our work in the past, particularly the distressingly grave mistakes and setbacks made during the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. Neither do we deny that our economic development remains backward, that the people's livelihood remains poor, and that negative phenomena that cannot be overlooked still exist in society. Moreover, we believe that we must face up to past mistakes and conscientiously sum up positive and negative experiences. At present, it is of particular importance that we understand profoundly the mistakes made by Comrade Zhao Ziyang in taking a negative attitude toward the four cardinal principles and in abetting and supporting bourgeois liberalization and how seriously these have disrupted economic construction. Adhering to the resolution of the 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, we must uphold the principle of "one focus and two basic points," rely on our own efforts, build up the country through hard work, and remove all negative factors that hinder economic and social development. Only in this way can we further bring into play the superiority of the socialist system and achieve still greater successes in our economic construction.

**To Strengthen Leadership, Continuously Carry On the Struggle To Punish the Corrupt and Prevent Corruption in a Thoroughgoing Way**

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[Article by Xing Chongzhi 6717 1504 2535, secretary of the Hebei Provincial CPC Committee]

[Text] While studying and acting in the spirit of the 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, many party members and cadres and the masses sincerely welcomed the session's call to resolutely punish the corrupt and prevent corruption, and to maintain honest and clean party and government organs is the wish of both the party and the people. It is also a very important and urgent task for the party and the government at the present stage. Our experience in recent years in building an honest government has indicated that the issue of corruption is a complicated struggle, and requires comprehensive efforts from all quarters. However, the key to achieving this rests with leadership. As long as leadership adopts a correct guiding ideology, earnestly grasps the work, and conscientiously realizes its goals, it can constantly lead the struggle against corruption in an in-depth manner and win people's confidence.

**1. Manage Correctly the Relationship Between Economic Work, Construction of Honest Government, and Struggle Against Corruption. In Guiding Ideology Emphasize the Importance of Punishing Corruption.**

One of the major reasons corruption in some localities and units remains unaffected and continues to grow despite repeated efforts to eliminate it is that local leaders do not really put the issue onto the daily agenda of their CPC meetings. None of them acts in a resolute manner or takes effective measures, and they do little work. The masses reflect that "much is said, but little is done." An aspect of their one-sided, and even erroneous, understanding is that they are unable to handle well the relationship between economic work and that of building an honest government. They even separate the two and take the latter as conflicting with the former. Some hold that, while we are developing commodity economic competition, "whoever stresses efforts toward honest government will suffer"; and some hold that only a high salary can bring about honesty, and that we should tackle the work only after the economy has become prosperous. Therefore, correctly handling relations between economic work and that of building an honest government, adopting a correct guiding ideology, and overcoming ideological obstacles are important steps in helping leaders become determined in the work concerning corruption.

We must insist on reform and opening up and promote economic development, while resolutely punishing the corrupt, taking measures to prevent corruption, and practicing honest politics. Such remarks, which are the basic guiding ideology of "grasping the work in two

aspects," as well as an important feature of the construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics, have been repeatedly stressed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping over the years. The construction of honest government and the development of socialist planned commodity economy are mutually promoting and are complementary. If one takes the construction as conflicting with development, pays attention only to economic development, but ignores and even denies the construction, then party and government organs will be corrupted and such a situation will by no means be our goal, even though the economy may be developed. As a matter of fact, corruption is not only corrosive in terms of politics and ideology, but also destructive in terms of economic development. To a very large extent, acts of taking advantage of office to blackmail and practice speculation, corruption, and bribery have affected the normal order of economic operations, upset fair competition among enterprises, and hindered the implementation of economic policies and national plans. Facts have shown that the economy cannot be healthily developed without punishing the corrupt and acting to prevent corruption. At the same time, the phenomenon of corruption in some party and government organs, although only a small number of people are involved, has seriously damaged the image of the party and government, undermined the prestige of reform and opening up, and dampened the initiative of the masses. Therefore, in order to promote the development of our reform and opening up and of our economy, we must do well in the construction of honest government and unswervingly launch a struggle against corruption.

Of course, we indeed see that some localities fail to get proper funds, are not given certain projects, and are unable to make proper deals because they earnestly construct honest government and reject such malpractices as entertaining guests extravagantly, giving presents, and practicing bribery. Also, we see some people receiving funds and projects improperly by practicing nepotism, using back-door relationships, giving presents, and practicing bribery. They can even sell unmarketable goods, or counterfeit, poor, and imitation goods. Can we come to the conclusion that "whoever stresses efforts toward honest government will suffer" based on these facts? No, we cannot. This is because, first, the above phenomena are specific ones; and second, to seek advantages by using improper means is a violation of law and discipline, which we must resolutely oppose. If we do not oppose or struggle against such acts of corruption, and hold that "whoever stresses efforts toward honest government will suffer," we shall yield to this repulsive phenomenon. Consequently, corruption will inevitably become more rampant, and eventually it will be the state and the people who suffer. Similarly, the idea that only a high salary can bring about honesty is groundless. We are a socialist country with an approximately 70-year-old tradition of honesty. Why should we now think that only a High salary can bring about honesty? Let us reverse the statement. Is there anyone who accepts bribes because he is "poor"? Also, is there anyone who becomes "honest"

after having received many bribes? Therefore, under no circumstances may we delay, avoid, neglect, or take a relaxed attitude toward the construction of honest government. Moreover, we must immediately grasp the work firmly and well. The better we do in the construction of honest government and in the struggle against corruption, the stronger cohesive force we shall build among the masses and the better we shall mobilize the initiative of the masses. Only thus can we ensure smooth progress in our economic construction and socialist undertaking, and can we promote a constant improvement in the level of productive forces.

Facts have shown that the key to doing well in the construction of honest government and in the struggle against corruption rests with a unanimous ideological understanding and the fact that the work is really included in the daily agenda. Proceeding from the province's situation, we get better results in areas where the party committee has sought a unanimous ideology and has a clear understanding, and where the work of constructing honest government and struggling against corruption has been firmly grasped. Therefore, we urge all party organizations at all levels in the province, within a specific period, to repeatedly and conscientiously study the spirit of the central directive, link their thinking to practice, discuss the seriousness and damage of corruption, discuss ways of strengthening the importance and urgency of constructing honest government and struggling against corruption, clarify confused understanding, and overcome ideological obstacles, so that we can ideologically realize that the construction of honest government and the struggle against corruption determine the destiny of our reform, of the party, and of the country. We must firmly establish the guiding ideology of grasping the economic work on the one hand, and the construction of honest government on the other. We must not favor or put more stress on either side. Hence, the work of repeatedly maintaining a unanimous ideology among leaders at various levels lays an ideological foundation for the province's work of constructing honest government and struggling against corruption.

## **2. Correctly Handle Relations Between the Grassroots and the Leading Organs. Earnestly Promote the Exemplary Role Played by Leading Organs and Leading Cadres in the Construction of Honest Government and the Struggle Against Corruption.**

It is very important for a leader to play an exemplary role and lead his work. The same applies to the issue of honesty. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Whether or not a senior leading cadre can play an exemplary role has a great influence on others. At this moment, when the unhealthy tendency is very prominent, we need to begin our work among leading cadres. The masses focus on them. Whenever they rectify themselves, the work concerning the grassroots will be easily done." We cannot say that the problem of corruption among leading organs is more common than that involving the grassroots, or that problems among leading cadres are more serious than those among ordinary

cadres. The key to the issue is that we should expect a more rigid requirement, which is very reasonable. Some people say: "Anyone who has done anything wrong should be reported, while those who have not should be educated"; and that "people at the grassroots should be taken care of whenever their superior suffers from the illness." Though such statements seem too extreme, they reflect the fact that the expectations of the masses concerning leading cadres are high. Anyone who has done anything wrong but refuses to rectify it has no right to speak on or to lead the work against corruption. Therefore, we must understand that all acts or words of leading cadres, particularly those of senior leading cadres, have great effects on the grass roots and the masses. Our party is a faithful representative of the people's interests. The masses judge us by the yardstick of whether or not we act for their benefit. They will not only judge our line, principles, and policies, but will also directly judge the ideology, work, and lifestyle of party members and cadres, particularly party member leading cadres, in party and government organs, and judge whether or not they are honest. Only when leading organs and leading cadres are honest, and play an exemplary role for grassroots cadres, can they win the confidence of the people, and can they have the right to speak on and to lead the struggle against corruption.

Based on this understanding, we must pay attention to the role of leading organs, particularly the exemplary role played by leading cadres, throughout the construction of honest government. We have begun our work among the leading cadres of the provincial party and government. The two groups repeatedly organized meetings on lifestyle, and conducted self-checks against the party charter, "guidelines," and relevant regulations on the work and lifestyle of provincial leading cadres recently adopted by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council. They conscientiously checked themselves against corruption and conducted criticism and self-criticism. At the same time, they formulated "Guidelines for Practicing Honesty Among Party and Government Leading Cadres at the Provincial Level" according to the actual conditions in Hebei, thereby making known specific rigid requirements for work, lifestyle, dependents and children, and so on; and requesting both internal and external supervision in these areas. Moreover, every 6 months the provincial disciplinary inspection committee and the provincial supervisory department conduct an overall inspection on the implementation of the guidelines by every cadre and publicize within an appropriate scope the results of the inspection. The exemplary role played by leading cadres is reflected mainly in three aspects: First, they should be honest and not involved in any act of squandering, bribery, corruption, malpractice, or forming small coteries. They should assign jobs to cadres and handle matters in an impartial manner. Second, they should supervise their dependents and children, as well as immediate colleagues, and educate them not to use their positions, power, and influence to seek personal gain. They should pay special attention to the fact that a leading cadre will eventually be in the position of being

corrupt if he does not set strict requirements for his dependents and children, fails to teach them to rectify erroneous and unlawful actions, or even harbors them and takes a relaxed attitude toward their actions. Third, they should take bold actions against corruption and the tendency to plead for clemency for people.

On playing an exemplary role, we should, judging from the situation of one province, pay special attention to grasping the work of organs directly under the provincial authorities. Whether or not these organs are honest in their government work has a great influence on the province as a whole. In the first half of this year, we concentrated our efforts for 4 months on the construction of honest government among organs directly under the provincial authorities. On the basis of studying documents and enhancing their understanding, we mobilized all party members and cadres to carry out the campaign of "investigating four aspects and straightening out six areas" in all departments and units led by leading groups and leading cadres. In other words, they conducted investigations against corruption, loopholes that breed corruption, violations of law and discipline, and cases of malfeasance among leadership; and straightened out acts of receiving bribes, lavishly entertaining guests, indulging in ostentation, extravagance, and personal gains, occupying excessive living space, arbitrarily giving bonuses and payment in kind, and running unauthorized banking businesses. Through these investigations and the work of straightening out, many instances of corruption were exposed, and the party members and cadres learned a lesson on party spirit and the legal system. Many party members and cadres, particularly leading cadres, voluntarily conducted self-checks against corruption and earnestly corrected their mistakes. Many units established corresponding systems, carried out their responsibility impartially, and refused to receive bribes, so that a new tendency of working hard was gradually formed. The actual work of constructing honest government in organs directly under the provincial authorities exerted great influence on and played an exemplary role for the whole province. Various prefectures, cities, and counties also paid attention to self-checking in the construction, thereby setting examples for their subordinates. Therefore, the work of constructing honest government was switched from the previous status of being a general call onto the track of "guiding the work of the lower level by that of the upper level."

### **3. Correctly Handle Relations Between the Investigation of Law Cases and Education. Stress Ideological Education When Investigating Violations of Law and Discipline.**

In the struggle against corruption, we must grasp both cases of corruption and education against corruption, and integrate them better. If we simply stress education and not cases, we shall indulge in the practice of paying lip service, and nobody will listen to us. Likewise, if we simply stress solving cases but not education, we shall be unable to mobilize the masses to struggle against corruption, or to make typical cases a form of education and

warning. Only when we concentrate our efforts on conscientiously handling serious cases of corruption and violation of law and discipline, and use these cases to educate the masses, can we both punish and frighten the bad elements, effectively check corruption, and encourage the masses to launch a determined struggle against corruption, thereby achieving the goals of winning the confidence of the masses and rebuilding the party's prestige.

We must first have a clear guiding ideology when handling criminal cases of corruption and serious violations of discipline. The phenomenon of corruption is an evil act breaching the responsibility of a state worker, as well as violating party discipline, government discipline, and law. We must seriously deal with these cases so that all cases of discipline violations will be investigated, anyone who violates the law will be held accountable, and all acts of violation will be severely punished. In our struggle against corruption, we should take as an important means the investigations of criminal cases of corruption and serious violations of discipline. We should clearly put forward that all cases of violation of law and discipline must be resolutely dealt with, with no exceptions being allowed no matter who is involved, what his title is, and how much he has contributed. In accordance with the present situation, we have paid special attention to cases marked by transactions in the form of power and money, and acts of corruption that pose the most harmful threat to the body of the party and the work of consolidation. We first focused our work on four areas: 1) Serious cases in which transactions took place in the form of power and money; 2) cases in which leading cadres took advantage of their office for personal gain and practiced bureaucratism; 3) cases in which party members and cadres in charge of money matters or responsible for distribution of materials violated law and discipline; and 4) cases in which law enforcement departments and administrative units at the grassroots practiced malfeasance and blackmail. Second, we introduced a responsibility system for solving corruption cases in party committees at provincial, prefectural, city, county, district, and other levels; and we stressed that each level would be practically responsible for resolutely investigating and handling cases of dereliction of duty at the same level until everything was clear, or the responsible unit would be held accountable for malfeasance and be dealt with. The Standing Committee of the provincial CPC committee insisted on conducting collective study on typical and large-scale cases, and gave direct assistance and guidance. During the period from last year to the end of May this year, the province's discipline inspection system investigated and handled a total of 6,735 cases of violations of discipline involving party members. Of those, 5,573 cases, or 82.7 percent, were settled. Our experience showed that adopting the responsibility system for solving cases, setting strict requirements, and clarifying duties and responsibilities easily brings about practical results. Third, we stressed acting boldly to tackle tough issues, and were determined to overcome all obstacles in the work. The provincial CPC

committee urged party committees and law- and discipline-enforcing departments at all levels to insist on their principles, act impartially, and be determined to resist pleading for clemency for people and acts of nepotism. Anyone who created obstacles to the investigation work was seriously dealt with when it was proved. In the investigation of the case of serious economic crime involving Jingshao Company in Tangshan, three retired city cadres, as well as relevant departments directly under the provincial authorities, created obstacles to the work. However, upon hearing a report submitted by the city CPC Committee, the Standing Committee of the provincial CPC Committee clearly pointed out at a meeting that anyone who did something wrong must be subject to investigation and punishment, and that we must not tolerate his mistakes, no matter whether he was still holding his post or retired, or whether he was a young cadre or an old one. Moreover, the Standing Committee published and distributed a summary of this meeting to all prefectures and cities, thereby giving great encouragement and support to the Tangshan City CPC Committee. In the process of investigating this case, it was discovered that Tian Guorui, member of the city CPC Committee and deputy chief of the city public security bureau, had sheltered criminal Wu Zhenhua. Therefore, the city disciplinary inspection committee and the city procuratorate were instructed to jointly handle this case, and removed Tian from his posts. Fourth, we coordinated the work of organization and law- and discipline-enforcing departments, and gave play to their integrated functions, thereby improving their rate of solving cases and maintaining good quality in the work. Cases of corruption were complicated ones involving party discipline, government discipline, and law. Therefore, it was highly necessary to arrange joint conferences for law- and discipline-enforcing departments, to make known the situation concerning the handling of major complicated cases, to study and solve questions concerning coordination in handling major and difficult cases, to discuss measures and policies for investigations, and to avoid loopholes in handling complicated criminal cases involving party discipline, government discipline, and law. Making joint efforts in handling such cases and making use of joint efforts are our political advantages, as well as a proven experience in our struggle against corruption.

Ideological education is an indispensable part of our work of guarding against corruption and maintaining honesty. Using major and typical cases as negative examples serves as a shocking and warning lesson for cadres and the masses. When handling cases of corruption, we must not simply stress the cases, but must go a step further and take the process of investigation as a process to educate party members, cadres, and the masses, who thus learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones. In the process of handling cases, the province first educated people who violated discipline to distinguish right from wrong, to draw lessons from past mistakes, and to be willing to receive punishment. Second, the province analyzed in depth a number of

typical cases, and conducted provincewide education against corruption. A common tactic employed by resourceful criminals was to offer bribes to rope in working personnel who held real power in state organs, so that some party members and cadres, even leading cadres, became their captives and underminers of socialism. A common characteristic shared by these people who became roped in was that their personal desires grew at the expense of their revolutionary spirit. Therefore, in the education against corruption, we should prominently emphasize restricting personal desires and boost revolutionary spirit. Through education using these typical cases, party members and cadres enhanced their political awareness and improved the consciousness of cadres and the masses in observing the law, and a great ideological wall guarding against corruption was thus built. Beginning last year, the province handled 420 major and serious cases through public channels. Whenever a case was solved, the relevant units organized their party members and cadres to hold serious discussion on the matter and to lead everyone to analyze the process of changes in and the causes of the commission of crimes and the harmfulness of the crimes committed, thereby enhancing the political immunization capability of party members and cadres.

#### **4. Correctly Handle the Relationship Between the Current Struggle Against Corruption and the Construction of an Honest Government. Strive To Set Up a New, Honest Government System With Constraints Built Into It.**

At present, it is highly necessary to adopt resolute measures to punish the corrupt and prevent corruption. Though they can effectively check the tendency of corruption, we must exert great efforts in building a system that can resist the shift toward corruption in order to fundamentally solve the corruption issue. Being the ruling party, our party holds a mighty power. Nevertheless, that power can both serve the people and be a means to seek personal gain. In order to ensure that power is properly exercised, we must make it subject to supervision and restrictions. Otherwise, the nature of the power will become evil, as with corruption. To a certain extent, a rigid system bears the nature of objectivity, making it subject to rational and effective supervision and restrictions.

In summing up the province's experience of building an external restrictive mechanism, an internal power-restricting mechanism, and external and internal supervisory systems, we come to the following points of preliminary understanding in the work of guarding against corruption: 1) We should make government affairs open to the public, which is the major way to build an external restrictive mechanism. Gaocheng County took the lead and popularized the province's first system for handling government affairs. Consequently, it was found that "opening to the public in two aspects and supervision" by the masses was an effective system favorable to maintaining honesty among party and government organs. Every party or government matter that could be made known to the public was thus made

public. We should first do well in making matters of party and government organs known within those same party and government organs, such as matters concerning the honesty of the leading cadres, and the implementation of guidelines concerning honesty; and matters concerning promotions, recruitment, fund transfers, recruitment of party members, performance assessment, distribution of housing, financial matters, and so on. The business of various departments at all levels should also be made known to society or to the people step by step, such as matters concerning the appointment of cadres in organization and personnel departments; arrangements for the placement of demobilized servicemen; job distribution of university and secondary school graduates; recruitment by labor departments; household registration by public security departments; capital construction goals and technical targets set by planning departments; goods and materials supply by materials supply departments; systems and procedures for, as well as results of, handling supervision, discipline inspection, and letters and visits by people; and so on. Grassroots administrative departments and law-enforcing departments, public utilities units and institutions in towns and townships, and so on, should begin their work and build the system of opening to the public in "hot spots" about which the masses are much concerned, and in areas where transactions in the form of power and money are most likely to take place. 2) We should improve the management system for party and government organs, and establish an internal power-restricting mechanism. By finding loopholes and weak points in the exercise of power, we should establish and perfect the internal system of collective leadership and master a system of mutual supervision of the office having the real power and of the person assuming that office, as well as a system of periodically inspecting the exercise of power. These are the basic measures for and way of thinking concerning internal restrictions and limits on power. After a period, the province's Baoding City preliminarily formed, through experience, certain effective mechanisms to restrict power. Its basic practice was to put an end to excessive centralized power, particularly situations where only the remarks of an individual count, and to appropriately divide power concerning manpower, funds, and materials management that easily gives rise to acts of corruption; to introduce criss-crossing management of certain work, and to separately entrust certain authority for supervision and inspection over relevant departments, units, and individuals, so as to facilitate supervision of the behavior of people in charge; to transfer cadres among different territories and posts; and to establish a rigid responsibility system, use the system to limit the use of power, strengthen the work of inspection, and give rewards and punishments impartially, so that the exercise of power gradually becomes standardized and systematic. Establishment of this internal restrictive mechanism may effectively limit any abuse of power and check the phenomenon of corruption. 3) We should strengthen the guarantees that the supervisory mechanisms within and outside the party are for the purpose of guarding against abuse of power. Supervision

is a kind of external force limiting the activities of the subject. In the supervision, the province's disciplinary inspection committees at various levels conduct supervision before making any important decision, carry out inspection of the implementation of such decisions, and respond to feedback on such implementation, so that the process of supervision runs through the whole of the party line, principles, and policies. Last year, the provincial disciplinary inspection committee proposed six times to the provincial CPC Committee its opinions on supervision. After serious consideration, the provincial CPC Committee adopted the opinions proposed, so that the internal supervision of the party yielded practical results. We also paid attention to giving play to the supervisory role of the press and public opinion. We invited the central press units attached to Hebei Province, as well the province's journalists, to attend forums; and welcomed their criticisms of the province's work, particularly that of the provincial CPC Committee. At the same time, we tried our best to keep channels clear for the masses to play their supervisory role. The establishment of a reporting system was an effective way to implement supervision by the masses. Beginning last year, the province's supervisory and procuratorial organs set up 364 reporting centers, allocated rooms and mailboxes for reporting, and announced telephone numbers for reporting. According to incomplete statistics, the reporting centers received and handled a total of 8,489 clues, and filed 676 new cases.

##### **5. Correctly Handle the Relationship Between General Calls and Calls for Creating Breakthrough Points. Solve Hot Issues One by One.**

The widespread and unyielding nature of corruption indicates that our struggle against it is an arduous one. Experience shows that it is necessary to mobilize everyone and to display our efforts in order to effectively eliminate corruption. However, under no circumstances must we act aimlessly, or only carry out general work or make general calls. Instead, we must grasp the hot issues that have extensive scope, and on which the attention of the masses is focused; handle matters according to the situation and to priority; and work out plans to solve them one by one. In the second half of last year, Xingtai Prefecture acted according to its local situation and took, in its construction of honest government, the investigation of acts of lavish expenses, entertaining guests with extravagant feasts, giving presents, and taking special housing conditions by organ cadres, as well as their use of organ vehicles for personal purposes, as the focal point. It made coordinated arrangements and worked out a new system, from the beginning of an investigation to the settlement of the case in question, so as to solve these issues. Consequently, it achieved remarkable results, which received an extensive welcome. On the basis of soliciting comprehensive opinions among the masses, it launched in the first half of this year a prefecturewide campaign of "straightening out three areas," which included the work of "straightening out fraudulent acts concerning titles, acts of building private

housing in towns and townships by cadres not engaged in production, and acts of transferring enterprise personnel to party and government organs." At present, the qualifications and titles of 1,592 people, or 3 percent of the prefecture's assessed technicians, have been revoked. Houses in 4,270 cases have been found to have been unlawfully built, in respect of which some 2 million yuan has been returned. It has been found through investigations that the transfer to party and government organs of 705 people violated regulations, and they have been dealt with according to their cases. The reason Xingtai Prefecture achieved remarkable results in constructing honest government is because it carried out actual work rather than simply issuing general calls to punish the corrupt and prevent corruption. Facing the complicated and common phenomenon of corruption, it acted in a determined way and worked out effective measures against it, rather than acting in an utterly ignorant manner, or blaming everyone and everything but itself. Therefore, by concentrating its efforts, it quickly solved some longstanding problems. Many localities became clean and honest, and such a climate gradually formed throughout the prefecture. After summing up the experience of Xingtai Prefecture, the provincial CPC Committee is popularizing such practices across the province.

In order to deal with acts of corruption by creating breakthrough points, the leadership must be very determined and bold in making public their plans of action, so that the work will not be superficially done and the masses can supervise and assess the process and the final results. Recently, when acting in the spirit of the 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, we proceeded from the realities of Hebei Province and determined, as well as announced, eight prominent issues concerning the work of punishing the corrupt and preventing corruption: 1) No leading cadre at and above county level, including the spouse or children of a retired cadre, is allowed to run for himself any business or enterprise, or is allowed to practice "official speculation," "personal speculation," or "acts of seeking unlawful profits" by using his office or relations. 2) No party or government organ is allowed to purchase sedans, not even a deluxe sedan imported according to distribution planning. When this occurs, all such vehicles will be confiscated and will be allocated for education purposes and other undertakings. No organ is allowed to hire sedans on a long-term basis. 3) No party member or cadre is allowed to build private housing in any town or township. Anyone who has done so and who, in connection with which, has occupied funds and property of the state or the masses must return them all. A party member or cadre who really needs to build a house in a town or township must go through strict procedures for examination and approval, and must carry out the construction according to centralized standards. No cadre is allowed to occupy excessive living space; if he does, he must return such space. 4) No one is allowed to arbitrarily give bonuses or payment in kind, or to purchase any commodity at the grassroots level with a token payment. 5) No contacts among colleagues,

or between the upper and lower levels, of the province's party and government organs at all levels must be carried out through any feast or dining out. The unhealthy tendency of giving presents must be resolutely checked. 6) No leading cadre is allowed to take advantage of his power to arbitrarily approve personal wishes; and all management and distribution of manpower, funds, and materials must be handled impartially and be subject to the policies and regulations of the relevant departments. No acts influenced by personal connections are allowed. 7) The promotion and transfer of cadres must be carried out by organization and personnel departments strictly in accordance with the party's policies and regulations. Any act of giving or receiving bribes with the purpose of entering officialdom must, upon being discovered, be seriously dealt with. 8) No party member or cadre is allowed to hold any lavish wedding or funeral ceremony, or to take advantage of his office to receive presents, or use state vehicles to run errands for relatives, or to carry out any feudal, superstitious, or gambling activity. Anyone who violates the above regulations must be subject to disciplinary measures or, if he commits any crime, must be punished by law. In order to really implement these measures, we adopted such measures as setting up a responsibility system for leaders at various levels, mobilizing the masses to report acts of corruption, organizing manpower to investigate and handle such cases, and so on.

Practical actions carried out by the provincial CPC Committee to resolutely punish the corrupt and prevent corruption have been welcomed and supported by people throughout the province. At present, the province's party organizations at various levels are conscientiously studying the spirit of, and the specific plans made by, the 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee and are further strengthening the construction of the party, as well as the work of punishing the corrupt and preventing corruption. Many prefectures, cities, and counties have uncovered, investigated, and handled a number of cases seriously violating law and discipline. We believe that by acting in the spirit of the 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, by firmly grasping the work, and by boldly making progress, we can certainly eliminate all kinds of corruption in the party, thereby further winning the people's confidence in the party, and driving ahead the cause of socialism.

### How To Readjust the Present Structure of Industry

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[Article by Zhang Zhou 1728 1108 of the State Planning Commission]

[Text] In recent years, a number of problems have cropped up in our economic life. Salient expressions of these problems are marked inflation and hefty price hikes. The fundamental cause of these problems is that



total demand greatly outstrips total supply, and the irrational structure of industry is given as an important reason for this state of affairs. On 5 March of this year, the State Council discussed and adopted the "Decision of the State Council on Key Points of the Present Industrial Policy" at a Standing Committee session chaired by Comrade Li Peng. In light of the irrational structure of industry, this decision charted effective means, policies, and measures for the gradual optimization of the industrial structure. Making an earnest effort to implement the requirements laid down in this decision will enable us to integrate reform with development and planning with market forces. This will be of great significance in promoting the sustained and steady development of the national economy. The irrationality of the present structure of industry is reflected mainly in the following areas:

1. The production capacity of processing industries is excessive, while development of agriculture, energy, raw and semifinished materials, communications and transport, and other basic industries is held up because of their insufficient capacity. Basic industries require large investment, have a long production cycle, and cannot develop production capacity within a short time. On the other hand, the processing industries require less investment, have a short production cycle, and can yield good profits. Some departments, localities, and enterprises that proceed from their own interests and are anxious for quick returns put their stake on the processing industries, thus accelerating the development of these industries. By comparison, basic industries lag seriously behind, causing the national economy all kinds of difficulties. Between 1985 and 1988, agricultural production came to a standstill, with the average annual rate of growth plummeting from 7.7 percent to 3.9 percent, and the output of grain and cotton falling below the 1984 level. With the increase in population and the rapid growth of the processing industries, the livelihood of the people was adversely affected and industries using farm products as raw materials suffered great setbacks due to the shortage of raw materials. Since 1985, the energy industry has been developing at a rate of 5.1 percent. The coal and power industries also have been developing at 5.3 percent and 9.6 percent, respectively. These are by no means low growth rates. However, because the processing industries have been developing at an even faster rate, and due to the accumulated deficits of the energy industry, the gap between supply and demand has widened. The situation is similar in iron and steel production. The ratio between the rate of growth for railroad freight volume and the rate of industrial growth has dropped from the normal level of about 0.5 to 0.3 during the Sixth 5-Year Plan period, to 0.18 in 1988. The situation is very grim.

2. For most industries, technological and management standards are rather low. This is reflected in the poor quality and low technological standards of enterprises. As a result, there is a widespread phenomenon whereby products perform poorly and their production involves

great waste and high cost. This is caused partly by objective factors, such as the backwardness of the equipment industry, the raw and semifinished materials industry, and the high-technology industry, and partly by subjective factors, such as short-sighted behavior and tolerance of backwardness on the part of the government and enterprises. The limited supply of energy and raw and semifinished materials becomes even more strained, resulting in serious waste in macroeconomic terms. The seriousness of this situation cannot be overlooked.

3. The irrational distribution of industries and the fact that the superiority of different localities is not properly brought into play constitute another problem in China's present industrial structure. Due to a variety of reasons, the industrial structure as it exists between the state and the localities and between different localities is not properly dovetailed and balanced. Furthermore, because of the lack of information and imperfections in the existing system, there is the erroneous tendency to duplicate imports and construction, engage in unwarranted production and unbridled competition, and even impose blockades against one another in many localities and trades. This has led to serious waste of resources and exacerbated the irrationality of the industrial structure. At present, there are some serious problems with the regional pattern of industry. Some localities are ignoring the provisions of the state's industrial policy by giving the green light to products the production of which is subject to restriction, even prohibition, thus upsetting the entire national industrial policy.

4. There is disharmony between the makeup of imports and exports and the structure of industry at home. As far as imports are concerned, the major problem is the excessive proportion of durable consumer goods in total imports. In technological imports, too much attention is paid to complete sets of equipment and production lines. Repetitive imports are serious and the import of software and key equipment is neglected. As for exports, the major problem is that primary products constitute the bulk of exports and the proportion of machinery and electrical appliances and other industrial goods with a high added value is too small. Thus, when the prices of primary products drop in the international market, the level of foreign exchange earnings is adversely affected. Such a state of affairs has also exacerbated the shortage of primary products in the domestic market.

In order to increase the supply of essential products, improve the overall performance of the national economy, and win a triumphant battle in improvement and rectification, we must readjust the structure of industry in China and make it more rational. To this end, we should see to the following:

1. We should support the development of agriculture, light and textile industries, communications and transport, energy, and raw and semifinished materials, and increase the supply of essential products. a) In order to ensure substantial agricultural growth, we should put agriculture, especially grain and cotton production,



above everything else. We should give agriculture our all-round and priority support, strive to win a bumper agricultural harvest this year, and put an end to the situation where, for 4 years, grain and cotton production has been marking time. b) At present, there is an acute imbalance between the supply of and demand for light and textile products in the domestic and international markets. There is also considerable disparity between purchasing power and commodity availability. In order to stabilize the markets, recover more currency from circulation, curb price hikes, and consolidate and open up international markets, we must give light and textile products priority support. c) We should attach utmost importance to the maintenance of normal and steady production in communications and transport, energy, raw and semifinished materials, and other basic industries, remove all obstacles that may affect normal production and operation, and ensure production safety. Aside from implementation, within possible limits, of a policy tilted toward capital construction, all departments should adhere to the principle of intensive development, rely on scientific and technological advancement to raise output, and improve the quality of products.

2. In the course of reducing investment in capital construction, we should guarantee investment for certain projects while reducing investment for others. In accordance with the list of priorities laid down in industrial policy and in conjunction with the work of screening projects under construction, we should concentrate on ensuring the completion of a number of key projects. Projects subject to restriction or prohibition in production, as well as projects that, although they warrant development, are faced with a shortage of raw and semifinished materials and that have surplus processing capacity, must be resolutely stopped, so that the limited funds, energy, and raw and semifinished materials can be spent on key projects. In accordance with the requirements of the industrial policy, we should reduce investment in capital construction on the one hand and optimize the industrial structure by proceeding from the readjustment of the investment pattern on the other.

3. We should properly dovetail foreign trade and the domestic market, readjust the import and export makeup in light of the readjustment of the structure of industry abroad and by keeping track of changes in the international market, and gradually increase the proportion of manufactured goods—particularly highly processed products, machinery, and electrical appliances—in the export product mix. We should also strive to improve the quality of exports, and produce more export commodities of higher grades that can earn more foreign exchange. Unified arrangements should be made for domestic and overseas marketing. We should expand the export of commodities for which raw materials are in abundance but are not essential at home. For commodities that are needed in the domestic as well as the international market, we should spare some for export. Commodities essential to the national economy and the people's livelihood and that are produced with materials

in abundance should be exported strictly in accordance with the state plan, while the export of products and raw and semifinished materials in short supply at home should be restricted or prohibited. At the same time, we should make proper arrangements for imports in accordance with the structure of industry and the consumption policy at home in order to readjust the pattern of production and demand and promote the development of national industries. We should ensure the import of major goods and materials essential to the national economy and the people's livelihood, make rational arrangements for the import of advanced technology, equipment, key parts, important raw and semifinished materials in acute shortage at home, as well as goods and materials in short supply in the domestic market in order to ensure the people's needs, support production, and raise our technological standards.

In order to ensure the fulfillment of the above objectives, we should, in the course of actually readjusting the industrial structure, pay special attention to the following:

Departments of economic management, regulation, and control, such as the departments of planning, finance, monetary affairs, taxation, commodity prices, foreign trade, industrial and commercial administration, and customs, must work with the same objective and with one heart and one mind, coordinate with one another in adopting means and measures of regulation and control, and conscientiously draw up concrete methods of implementation. The methods of implementation adopted by these departments of macroeconomic control, which have a wide span and cover large areas, are important links in ensuring the success of the readjustment of the industrial structure. We must, therefore, stress coordination between various regulation and control policies as well as the feasibility of these policies. Planning departments should reflect the requirements for the readjustment of the industrial structure in annual and medium-term plans of the state. These will mainly be reflected in the annual plan for 1990 now under compilation.

The methods of implementation drawn up by the departments and localities concerned must be in compliance with the requirements of the national industrial policy and emphasize key projects in accordance with the characteristics of these departments and localities. At present, we should emphasize those industries and products that are subject to restriction or prohibition. We should "restrict the inferior and support the excellent." To start with, we should restrict the inferior, for only in this way can we support the excellent, gradually rationalize the structure of industry, and make the readjustment yield true results. At the same time, we should consider formulating specific policies to guide those enterprises with principal products that are subject to state restriction or prohibition to switch to other lines of production, and reorganize the makeup of the stock of resources.

Departments of statistics, information, and so on must provide prompt feedback on changes in the industrial structure and step up monitoring in order for the departments concerned to take the right measures in good time.

The implementation of the industrial policy must be supplemented by necessary administrative and legal means. The legal departments must formulate statutes, laws, and regulations relating to the industrial policy so that departments of economic supervision can exercise supervision in accordance with law.

Economic management organs at all levels must conscientiously grasp the implementation of the industrial policy. We should regard the grasping of the industrial policy and the readjustment of the industrial structure as an important means for strengthening economic management, stepping up supervision, and ensuring the fulfillment of our work.

### Comments on the 'Theory on Tendency of Convergence' of the Two Systems

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[Article by Yan Man 1750 3341 of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences]

[Text] One of the important expressions of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization in the field of social sciences is that it ignores the fundamental difference between socialism and capitalism but plays up the bourgeois "theory on tendency of convergence." This ideological trend maintains that socialism and capitalism can indiscriminately learn from each other, and that actually means to replace socialism with capitalism. This article will serve as an analysis and criticism of the bourgeois "theory on tendency of convergence."

#### I

In the wake of scientific and technological progress and development in the world, a new trend of economic development has taken shape in the Western world and a tide of reform has emerged among socialist countries. So a new page has been opened in the struggle between socialism and capitalism. Against such a new historical backdrop, the Western theoreticians' circles have been very active, and many "new" theories have been put forth. A most representative one of these "new" theories is the so-called "theory on tendency of convergence" or, to put it more precisely, the theory elaborating the tendency of convergence in the future development of capitalism and socialism.

The "theory on tendency of convergence" holds that socialism and capitalism are joining in a single road of development and their development processes are very similar. For example, both socialism and capitalism are embarking on industrialization and urbanization programs. Meanwhile, the differences between the two social systems in the economic, political, and ideological

fields are gradually dissolving, and they are learning from each other's experience in social development and in social organization and administration to make up each other's deficiencies. In brief, socialism and capitalism are approaching each other and are developing into an essentially identical social form.

The "theory on tendency of convergence" was first put forth by Jan Tinbergen, a Dutch economist, in 1961. In his thesis, entitled *Do the Communist Economic Society and the Free Economic Society Show a Tendency of Convergence?*, he pointed out that a movement transcending the polarization of communist economy and capitalist free economy is emerging from the new economic environment. Both systems are assimilating certain elements of the other, for example, communist countries are trying to make use of the market mechanism, while capitalist countries are introducing a planning system, and so on. Such a development has given rise to social modes which resemble each other in major aspects. Tinbergen further expounded his so-called "theory on tendency of convergence" of economic development in the book *Convergence of the Eastern and Western Economic Systems*, of which he was a co-author.

The idea of "tendency of convergence" has also been constantly discussed by other Western scholars. American sociologists Pitirim A. Sorokin and Charles Wright Mills believed that the reason why "the socialist Soviet Union and the capitalist United States more and more 'resemble' each other" is because both are becoming bureaucratic societies practicing centralism which mobilize their resources under the pretext of war as their single goal. (Marion Levy) [7456 6849 1869 0448 4850] and Wilbert Moore held that "all industrial societies share more and more 'similar' key characteristics because they all have common needs in terms of factory production, the relations between education and occupation, and the nature of technical knowledge."<sup>1</sup>

The fatal shortcoming of the "theory on tendency of convergence" lies in that it applies a technological approach to the analysis of social economic systems, overemphasizing the economic and technological factors, but overlooking or denying the fundamental difference between capitalism and socialism in the nature of their ownership system of production means. For example, it focuses on education planning, agricultural technology, the struggle against pollution, and other problems, but simply ignores the essential and fundamental differences between the two social systems. In the eyes of the followers of the "theory on tendency of convergence," there is no difference between capitalism and socialism, as both capitalist or socialist industrial societies are industrial societies, different only in form of expression.

French sociologist R. (Alon) [7093 7127] regarded capitalism and socialism as two societies at the same stage of development of human society, two models belonging to the same category. For this reason, in his book *Eighteen Lectures on Industrial Society*, he suggested the use of a

single concept—the “industrial society,” with a view to avoiding choosing between “the alternatives of socialism and capitalism.”

American sociologist John Kenneth Galbraith vigorously publicized his view that contemporary capitalism has changed its exploitative nature, holding that expansion of business operation and technological innovation have replaced profit as the major goal of modern consortiums, while well-trained talents have replaced capital as the most important element of later-stage capitalism. In his book *The New Industrial State*, he enumerated a host of increasing common points between socialism and U.S. “managed” capitalism.

American sociologist Daniel Bell held that human beings have undergone the preindustrial society, the industrial society, and the postindustrial society in the wake of scientific and technological progress. He maintained that the United States is the first country that reached the postindustrial society, and all countries, whatever social systems they are practicing, will reach the postindustrial society sooner or later, in one way or another. He also noted that “the major problem for modern society is not class struggle” and that, “in the rising new society, the principal class is first of all a professional class that survives on knowledge rather than on properties.”<sup>2</sup>

It is obvious that the “theory on tendency of convergence” has completely ignored the class content of the Marxist theory on social development, and denies the practical need for the transformation of the relations of production in the capitalist system. This theory interprets social development as the development of productive forces, thus thoroughly repudiating the Marxist scientific thesis that the relations of production must stay in line with productive forces in terms of its nature and standard. In substance, this suggests that capitalism will be immortal. The “theory on tendency of convergence” is a purely bourgeois social ideological trend.

## II

The “theory on tendency of convergence” has borrowed its theoretical framework from the “doctrine of new class cooperation” that has been practiced in capitalist society these years and from the Western theories of the so-called “welfare state” and “bountiful society.” It is out of the same political purpose that the bourgeoisie publicizes the “theory on tendency of convergence” and tries to mitigate domestic class contradictions. In order to stabilize the turbulent political situation in Western countries, the bourgeoisie has adopted many measures, the “doctrine of new class cooperation” being one of the essential parts of these efforts. This so-called “doctrine of new class cooperation” is to consolidate the capitalist social system through direct and extensive cooperation between the ruling class on the one hand and all kinds of trade unions and their related organizations on the other. In many Western countries, organizations at all levels, national or local, try to attract the laboring people and

their organizations to take part in the cooperation sponsored by the bourgeois states. The FRG Federation of Trade Unions in the 1960’s and the British Trades Union Congress in the 1970’s did join such “cooperation” which, in fact, served as a great restriction on trade unions in their involvement in social affairs and helped stabilizing and consolidating the capitalist system. Many Western personages have exposed the true nature of this kind of “cooperation.” Danish scientist J. (Logue) [3157 2706] pointed out: The Danish trade union “is, in fact, more and more like an organization of ‘oligarchy’” after joining the new class cooperation. Swedish specialist A. (Rayon) [5490 5040] said: “This kind of cooperation has gone so far as to tightly tie the trade union and the state together, which may be a threat to the independent status of the trade union.”<sup>3</sup> For this reason, this kind of “new class cooperation” has been facing a crisis since the late 1970’s, more and more laboring people oppose this strategy of the bourgeoisie which is aimed at alleviating class contradiction, and they believe it is necessary to actively wage a struggle in their own class interests. The rise of the wave of workers’ strikes and leftwing movement in the Western world in recent years has clearly indicated that this kind of “cooperation” is unreliable.

In the West, the ruling class has given much publicity to the so-called “welfare state” and “bountiful society” and cited them as examples to illustrate the superiority of capitalism. It cannot be denied that the new technological revolution has brought about new development in Western capitalist countries and has improved the working conditions and living standards of the working class and laboring people. (Herbert Marcusai) [6378 0130 3676 7456 1422 1655 1049], a theoretician of the Frankfurt school, put forth the theory of “bountiful society” in the book *One-sided Man* and other works, maintaining that the social conditions of Western industrial countries have completely changed since Marx’s times, while the working class has been “integrated” with the capitalist system, has indulged in the “consumers’ society,” and will show no revolutionary passion. In other words, Marx’s revolutionary theory no longer applies to the modern times.

The view that the working class has already been “integrated” with the capitalist system is actually another form of the theory on the “tendency of convergence” of classes. While one school maintains that the exploiting classes “are converging” with the exploited classes, the other insists that capitalism “is converging” with socialism. Both views carry the same implication. The former wants to obscure the distinctions between classes, while the latter ignores the substantial differences between capitalism and socialism. Both are trying to ameliorate and defend the capitalist system.

However, the realities are not as beautiful as what the theoreticians have imagined. Any attempt to build a “stable capitalist society” through a “scientific and technological revolution” will be in vain. Developed capitalist countries have been repeatedly and ruthlessly

attacked by economic crises. People in Western countries still remember clearly the economic crisis that broke out abruptly in the 1970's. So many families passed the seventies in a miserable sustained inflation!

In the book *Introduction to Modern Economics*, well-known British economists Joan Violet Robinson and (John Atwell) [4766 5060 1002 3676 7279 1422] wrote: "Despite unprecedented (economic) growth over the past 25 years, poverty is still far from being eliminated." The so-called "bountifulness" "has different meaning to those families who cannot afford to buy the commodities that are presented by television commercials every day."

An article in U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT's March 1979 issue said: "One of the stories that have not been told in our times is about those who break down after a layoff. The divorce rate for laid-off executives has been as high as 75 percent. They become alcoholics and drug addicts, and get mentally ill. The suicide rate is high among these people." "After being laid off, they do not have the heart to tell their wives the truth. So they get up and leave home every morning and pretend to go to work as usual. But how can they hide the truth from others? The whole truth comes out at the end of the month when they fail to produce the pay check."

In the wake of economic recession, the "welfare state" policy has naturally landed in a predicament since such "welfare" has proved less and less effective in solving the actual difficulties of the laboring people. A definite conclusion can be reached through an analysis of the utility of the capitalist "welfare state" economic policy that Western countries are applying to the field of social welfare: "In simple terms, the longstanding assumption that a poor man would derive more additional satisfaction than a rich man from any given increase in income could not be maintained."<sup>4</sup>

G. (Lufuluo) [7627 4395 3157] of Italy raised his doubt in an article entitled "What Is the Welfare Market?": "The 1950's and the 1960's witnessed the combination of two policies: On the one hand, a full employment policy, that is, a Keynesian macroeconomic policy supported by supply, was implemented; on the other, an income redistribution policy formulated after the social democratic party idea of 'welfare' policy, was practiced. On the surface it seemed that this policy could maintain continuous growth and reduce considerably social conflicts arising from the redistribution of income. But we want to ask why this kind of economic prosperity, political stability, and social justice came to a halt as soon as a certain degree of obvious progress was made? Why did the kind of compromise that people were talking about fail to work?" He said: "First of all, 'social welfare' states, under the control of a social oligarchy, have less and less control over inflation resulting from social oligarchic control. The second crisis is that the redistribution utility is diminishing in 'welfare states.' What is more, as far as redistribution is concerned, there is an adverse phenomenon: It is not the relatively poor strata, but the relative well-off that enjoy social services

and public welfare. The third problem for 'welfare states' is bureaucratization. If one observes the financial pressure arising from the expansion of social services in the light of the lowering of welfare quality, one will understand why even the masses feel more and more indifferent to the 'welfare state' program."<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the Western theoretical circles have been disappointed: "Over the past 30-odd years, the idea of the welfare state has always been the most important basis for economic development and social progress in the Western world. Today, however, the welfare state as a social system has landed in dire straits almost everywhere. The welfare state as a social system is no longer a factor of economic stability and a guarantee of maintained purchasing power. The costs are too high and the state's expenditure has reached its limit.... We can make no more economic or even spiritual sacrifice to safeguard the whole building of social welfare." "Some sociologists, political scientists, and social philosophers more and more expressly support such a view: The crisis of the welfare state is first of all not a welfare crisis, but a national crisis."<sup>6</sup>

Actually this is how things are. The capitalist "national crisis" has not vanished. On the contrary, the crisis is always threatening the Western society. In 1987, the slump of the U.S. dollar exchange rate and the stock market crash terrified Western economists extraordinarily. An article carried in the U.S. (COMMERCE DAILY), 28 December 1987, cried out in alarm: "The economic prospects are extraordinarily gloomy." Making a forecast on New Year's Eve, 1988, U.S. futurist Edward Seymour Cornish pointed out: "The 1950's were the golden age of the United States, the 1960's were the golden age of Europe, and the 1980's will mark the end of the bountiful state in the West." J. (Marsee) [7456 1422 1585], an American, noted in his article "The Alienation of Welfare State Capitalist System": "Some people believe that, because of the rise of welfare states, Marx's criticism of the capitalist system is no longer valid. As capitalism at its later stage has overcome the shortcomings that it had displayed at its earlier stage, the laborers' living standards have improved, there is no major economic recession, and everybody happily enjoys common prosperity. However, welfare state capitalism has not solved and cannot possibly solve its basic contradiction, and Marx's basic analysis of capitalism and his criticism of this system are still valid: Capitalism is irrational. The major contradiction of capitalism, namely, the contradiction between private ownership of social wealth and the social organizations producing this wealth, still remains. Only the phenomena by which the contradiction is displayed have changed to a certain extent." "If we take the case of the United States as an example, we can say, in an absolute sense, the U.S. workers' livelihood has been truly improved. But the relative wealth distribution pattern has not changed since the Great Depression. Even today the total net income of the upper 10 percent of the population is still more than the total net income of the lower 50 percent of in population, and the wealthiest 2

percent own 82 percent of company stocks and 83 percent of municipal bonds of the country."<sup>7</sup>

Numerous facts have shown that capitalists have not stopped exploiting the laboring people during the later stage of capitalism, and the intrinsic contradictions of capitalism still exist. Due to scientific and technological development and some readjustments and reforms that have been introduced in bourgeois states, capitalism is indeed still keeping some potential of development. But it is mere wishful thinking on the part of the bourgeoisie to expect the proletariat to tolerate the capitalist system and let this system survive forever! The "theory on tendency of convergence" can never save capitalism.

### III

Under new historical conditions, theoreticians supporting the theory of "tendency of convergence" do not see and recognize the working class as the creators of history and as the main motive force of social development. They believe that, in the wake of the development of the new technological revolution, the number of white-collar workers keeps increasing in the later period of the capitalist society, the working class gradually turns into a "middle class," their living standards improve constantly, thus they are more and more closely combined with the capitalist social system. In fact, this is not the case. According to data provided by the U.S. Labor Statistical Agency, 60 percent of the families in the United States earned an income below the median income level (\$10,700) in 1970. It is true that the number of white-collar workers is constantly increasing, but this proves nothing, since blue-collar workers still account for 60 percent. This proportion will remain the same until the 21st century. By the way, many white-collar workers earn less than blue-collar workers do.<sup>8</sup>

In light of this, the so-called "new class" in the "theory on tendency of convergence" does not exist. In capitalist society, intellectuals are a stratum but not a "new class." To be sure, intellectuals as administrators are playing an increasingly important role in production management. But this does not imply a diffusion of political power. As in the past, the real power is still firmly kept in the hands of top financial capitalists. And the position of intellectuals themselves varies from case to case. However, out of their theoretical needs, bourgeois theoreticians classify intellectuals as a "new class," claiming it to be the master and leader of the late period of capitalism or the "postindustrial society." In making this classification, they are actually ignoring the existence of the working class and the intrinsic attribute of capitalism—class confrontation or, to put it more precisely, the confrontation between the working class and the bourgeoisie.

The advocates of the "theory on tendency of convergence," with regard to social systems, see only superficially the point that both social systems have shown common concern for the needs of society and the ecological environment, and they just do not notice the substantial difference between the two systems. Take

economic management for example: Socialist countries delegate the power of production management down to enterprises so as to meet the needs of the development of the commodity economy and to give fuller play to enterprise initiative in production. This does not change the public ownership of enterprises. Capitalist countries practice so-called economic "planning" to strengthen state control over the economy. But this can neither change the nature of private ownership nor resolve the contradiction between socialized production and the private ownership of production means. Now, let us also take a look at the case of social distribution. The purpose of the reform of distribution that has been introduced in socialist countries is to deal with the shortcomings of longstanding egalitarian practices in distribution and to implement more efficiently the socialist principle of distribution according to work. The "welfare policy" and other methods for the improvement of social distribution practiced by capitalist countries cannot possibly change the exploitative nature of capital nor help eliminate the wide gap between the rich and the poor as an unreasonable social phenomenon.

It is not surprising that theoreticians advocating the "theory on tendency of convergence" can find some common phenomena and features in the developing course of capitalism and socialism. But these cannot be taken as the substantial linkages between the two systems. It cannot be denied that, in the process of industrialization or urbanization, capitalist and socialist systems will certainly show many similar things. But this does not imply any tendency of "convergence" in the two systems. Capitalist industrialization and urbanization are in the interests of monopoly capital, while socialist industrialization and urbanization are to meet the needs of modernization of production and socialist construction. The "theory on tendency of convergence" does not see and recognize the limitations that two social systems, namely, the public and private ownership systems, impose on the nature and process of all kinds of activities. Therefore, it cannot possibly find a correct answer to the question.

The progress of modern science and technology has profoundly proved the Marxist theory on the revolutionary role of productive forces in the process of social development. The impact of scientific and technological progress on social development needs to be studied further. On the other hand, the progress and development of modern science and technology has brought about tremendous changes in the subject and object, as well as the means and methods, of cognition. Studying and summing up these changes and making a philosophical generalization have become new topics of the study in epistemology. However, the important point is that, in studying these new topics, we must never forget the distinction between socialism and capitalism and the struggle in the field of ideology. Both theoretical study and practice have shown that the capitalist system, established on the basis of exploitation of man by man,

cannot possibly "converge" or even "merge" with socialism, which is based on the elimination of the exploiting system.

Bourgeois theoreticians have always attempted to infiltrate socialism with the Western lifestyle, thus exercising influence on socialist society and its economic development, and bringing socialism onto the capitalist track, so that socialist society will achieve modernization after the Western model and will develop a Western lifestyle. This has been the Western bourgeoisie's consistent strategy. We must keep high vigilance against this and never forsake the socialist system that the people won with blood and sweat.

Reform and opening up is our basic national policy and the road to prosperity that must be followed steadfastly. However, in the process of reform and opening up, we must on the one hand make use of advanced achievements by foreign countries in the field of sciences (including social sciences), set store on the important role of science and technology in production development and economic management, combine these achievements with the superiority of socialism to narrow the gap between our country and advanced countries in the economic, scientific, and technological fields, and mend our pace in the four modernizations. On the other hand, we must make a thorough study and analysis of the "theory on tendency of convergence" advocated by bourgeois theoreticians and of other bourgeois theories in order to find out what are rational and what are wrong. Only in this way will we be able to keep a sober mind and always steadfastly uphold the socialist orientation.

#### Footnotes

1. See Daniel Bell: *The Coming of Postindustrial Society*.
2. See *The Coming of Postindustrial Society*.
3. C. (Peilieguduofu) [0160 0441 0657 1122 1133]: "Politics in Capitalist Society and Modern Class Cooperation," *WORLD ECONOMIC AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (USSR)* No 6, 1980.

4. See the entry "Welfare Economics," *Concise Encyclopedia Britannica* (Chinese edition).

5. (REBIRTH) [ZAI SHENG 0375 3932] monthly, Italy, No 26, 1985.

6. H. (van Leyike) [5400 0519 0122 0344]: "Welfare States Are Trapped in a Dual Crisis," (AIERSAI-WEIERSI) [1002 1422 1049 4850 1422 2448], 8 Oct 1983.

7. (SOCIAL PRACTICE) [4357 2585 1395 6432], the Netherlands, Nos 1, 2, 1980; *SOCIAL SCIENCES OVERSEAS* [GUO WAI SHE HUI KE XUE 0948 1120 4357 2585 4430 1331], No 6, 1983.

8. J. (Macr Xi) [7456 1422 1585]: "Alienation of the Welfare State Capitalist System," *SOCIAL PRACTICE*, the Netherlands, Nos 1, 2, 1981; *SOCIAL SCIENCES OVERSEAS*, No 6, 1983.

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